SOCIAL NEW YORK VNDER THE GEORGES

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ESTHER SINGLETON

SOCIAL NEW YORK UNDER THE GEORGES

1714 – 1776

The Van Cortlandt house, built in 1748.

See page 45.

SOCIAL NEW YORK UNDER THE GEORGES

1714 - - 1776

HOUSES, STREETS AND COUNTRY HOMES, WITH CHAPTERS ON FASHIONS, FURNITURE, CHINA, PLATE AND MANNERS

By ESTHER SINGLETON

Author of "The Furniture of Our Forefathers"

Profusely Illustrated

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PREFACE

The purpose I have had in view in the following work has been to show clearly the social conditions of the prosperous class in New York during the period sometimes known as "The Golden Age of New York," which extended from the accession of George I. till the outbreak of the Revolution. Other writers have taken pleasure in describing the humble side of life here with the Dutch *vrouw* at her spinning-wheel and the goodman on his settle at the fireside. In the following pages, this lowly side of life in Manhattan has been entirely neglected, my aim having been to exhibit the opulent and fashionable life that revolved around Fort George.

Nothing could more clearly show the life of successful activity and at the same time of luxury led by the wealthy citizens of New York than the descriptions of the houses they lived in, the contents of their various rooms, their plate, glass and china, the delicacies with which their tables were supplied, the gardens and domains in which they took their pleasure, the clothes they wore, the music they sang and played, the plays, exhibitions and shows they attended, the public and private *fêtes*, balls, dinners, and assem-

blies at which they gathered, and the field-sports in which they indulged. No survey of the period would be complete, moreover, without a glance at the accomplishments, tastes, and fashionable fancies and follies of the day.

This material, collected and classified in chapters, has been gathered from many sources. Old letters and diaries have been consulted through the courtesy of descendants of those who wrote them. The ordinary sources of documentary history have been thoroughly examined and sifted; wills and inventories preserved in Albany and New York have been consulted, and in some cases complete interiors have been reconstructed by their aid. The richest mine of wealth, however, has been the newspapers of Colonial days. The publications of Messrs. Zenger, Gaine, Holt, Parker and Rivington have been exhaustively searched; and items of news that serve to elucidate the life of the old days, and advertisements of the merchants who catered to the needs and pleasures of the community, have been carefully gathered and classified.

The picture here presented of the home of a prosperous citizen is therefore no fanciful one, since the facts as given tell their own story convincingly. This is not a book of opinions but of facts: in all cases I have endeavoured to avoid all personal prejudice and favour, and merely to reproduce the social life of the

Georgian Age with the minimum of personal comment, occasionally indicating the connection between the fashions and tastes of that day in New York and those of the mother country.

To many people, the facts here presented will be fresh and full of interest. To others, perhaps, the illustrations showing articles that were actually in the possession of old citizens famous in their day will be even more interesting. The Waltons, Ver Plancks, Beekmans, de Peysters, Alexanders, Duanes, Livingstons, Jays, de Lanceys and others, who were prominent in the mercantile and official life of the period, have left many descendants who still possess and prize useful and ornamental articles that belonged to their ancestors.

By the courtesy of the present owners, these objects have been specially photographed for this book, and many of them have never appeared in any publication hitherto. It will be noticed that among the illustrations are several portraits of social leaders of the period, and that on other pages appear articles that belonged to them. The quaint tail-pieces of the chapters are fac-simile reproductions of various advertisements that occur in the columns of the newspapers.

I have to tender my best thanks to those ladies who have kindly allowed me to illustrate my book with pictures of their precious heirlooms; and to the

New York Historical Society, and especially to its librarian, Mr. Robert Kelby, to whose kindness I am greatly indebted for the privilege of using its priceless collections.

E. S.

New York, *October* 20, 1902.

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PART I

ASPECTS OF THE SMALL TOWN

PART I

ASPECTS OF THE SMALL TOWN

I

THE CITY AND ITS STREETS

No city was ever more beautifully situated than New York. Commercially, also, its favourable position could not help rendering it the metropolis of a hemisphere. During the early years of its settlement, every traveller was struck with its natural beauty. Coming up the bay, whose shores at that date were abundantly wooded, the quaint little town lying at the southern point of Manhattan Island must have formed a picture that was perfectly delightful. It is doubtful if any city was ever so important commercially and politically in proportion to its size. What Goa or Batavia was to the Orient, New York was to the Western Hemisphere. Ships with manufactures and the products of the earth arrived daily from Europe and the West Indies. This little port was a great mart and clearing-house.

Its size, however, remained insignificant all through the Eighteenth Century. In 1712, two years before George I. came to the throne, the city contained only 5,816 inhabitants, of whom 970 were blacks. This number rose to 8,882 in 1731, and 21,863 forty

years later. In 1744, there were only 1,141 houses; and in 1751, only 2,059. Four years later the number was 2,200. In 1766, there were 3,223, distributed as follows: East Ward, 521; North Ward, 487; South Ward, 314; Out Ward (exclusive of the district of Harlem), 270; Dock Ward, 287; and Montgomerie Ward, 664. In 1773, the city contained 18,726 whites, and 2,737 blacks.

Approaching the city, the principal front of which faced Long Island, the first building that struck the eye was the Fort, the southern end of which was built on rocks at the water's edge. It extended from the present Greenwich Street and Battery Place to the junction of Whitehall Street and Front Street. Beyond this, old prints show a cluster of quaint houses topped by a few spires, and then the ground undulates with low hills and woods in the distance. Within the Fort, lived the Governor, whose house was burnt in 1741, and again in 1773. On this site, the new Custom House is now (1902) in course of erection.

In early days, the city had been stockaded as a protection against Indians. In 1745, the dread of a French and Indian invasion was so great that a line of palisades and blockhouses was built around the northern end of the town from river to river. It was constructed of cedar logs about fourteen feet long and nine or ten inches in diameter, placed in a trench with loop-holes for muskets. The breast-work was four feet high, and four feet wide. There were three blockhouses, thirty feet square and ten feet high, with six port-holes for cannon. They were made of logs.

There were four gates, or outlets, to the city: in Pearl Street, Chatham Square, Broadway and Greenwich Street. The palisades started from James and Cherry Street, ran diagonally across Duane Street and Pearl Street, and so irregularly west, south of Fresh Water and north of Warren Street.

In 1753, an enthusiastic author writes:

"With respect to what Nature has done for us there is not a happier People in the World than the Inhabitants of this Province. I have myself spent a month in their Metropolis, the most splendid Town in North America. Everything in it conspires to make New York the best Mart on the Continent. Our Coasts are regular and by a good Lighthouse might be rendered safe and easy.

"The City of New York consists of about twenty-five hundred buildings. It is a mile in length, and at a Medium, not above half that in breadth. On the South it forms a Point into a large Bay. The East side lies on a Streight which at eighteen or twenty miles Eastward opens to the Sound. It adjoins to the Hudson river on the West and such is its Figure, its Centre of Business and the Situation of its Buildings, that the Cartage in Town from one part to another does not at a Medium exceed one-quarter of a mile. The prodigious Advantage of which to a trading City is more easily conceived than expressed. It facilitates and expedites the lading and unlading of Ships and Boats, saves Time and Labour, and is attended with Innumerable Conveniences to its inhabitants."

A few more impressions recorded by contemporary visitors will help us to give a clear idea of the aspect and character of the town. In 1748, Kalm wrote:

"In size it comes nearest to Boston and Philadelphia; but with regard to its fine buildings, its opulence, and extensive commerce, it disputes the preference with them."

Describing the streets, he said:

"Most of them are paved, except in high places, where it has been found useless. In the chief streets there are trees planted, which in summer give them a fine appearance, and during the excessive heat at that time, afford a cooling shade. I found it extremely pleasant to walk in the town, for it seemed quite like a garden.

"The trees which were planted for this purpose are chiefly of two kinds; the water beech is the most numerous, and gives an agreeable shade in summer, by its large and numerous leaves. The locust tree is likewise frequent; its fine leaves and the odoriferous scent which exhales from its flowers make it very proper for being planted in the streets, near the houses and in gardens. There are likewise lime-trees and elms in these walks, but they are not, by far, as frequent as the others. One seldom meets with trees of the same sort adjoining each other, they being in general placed alternately. Besides numbers of birds of all kinds, which make these trees their abode, there are likewise a kind of frogs, which frequent them in great numbers during the summer. They are very clamorous in the evening, and in the nights (especially when the days have been hot, and the rain is expected,) and in a manner drown the singing of the birds. They frequently make such a noise that it is difficult for a person to make himself heard.

"Most of the houses are built of bricks; and are generally strong and neat, and several stories high. Some had, according to old architecture, turned the gable-end towards the streets; but the new houses were altered in this respect. Many of the houses had a balcony on the roof, on which the people used to sit in the evenings in the summer season; and thence they had a pleasant view of a great part of the town and likewise a part of the adjacent water and of the opposite shore. The roofs are commonly covered with tiles, or shingles; the latter of which are made of the white fir tree, or *Pinus Strobus*, which grows higher up in the country. The inhabitants are of opinion that a roof made of these shingles is as durable as one made in Pennsylvania of the *white cedar* or

Cupressus thyoides. The walls were whitewashed within, and I did not any where see hangings, with which the people in this country seem in general to be little acquainted. The walls were quite covered with all sorts of drawings and pictures in small frames. On each side of the chimnies they usually had a sort of alcove; and the wall under the windows was wainscoted, and had benches placed near it. The alcoves and all the woodwork were painted with a bluish grey colour."

In 1781, the traveller, Anburey, wrote:

"The city of New York stands on the southern extremity of the island, and its situation is extremely delightful; commanding such a variety of prospects, as are the most charming that can be conceived. The city is mostly built upon the East River, on account of the harbour. In many of the streets are rows of trees on each side to shelter from the amazing heats in summer. Most of the houses are built with brick, very strong and neat, and several stories high; many of them have balconies on the roof, where company sit in the summer evenings, to enjoy the prospect of the opposite shores and harbour; and the roofs are covered with shingles. The streets are paved and clean, but in general very narrow; there are two or three indeed which are spacious and airy. The length of the town is somewhat more than a mile, and the breadth of it about half a mile."

The authorities of the city were then possessed of a great deal of civic pride. They took pains to make the city beautiful and keep it neat. Many laws show this. Before examining the houses, it will therefore be well to look at a few of the ordinances dealing with streets and city life.

In 1713, an Act was passed for mending and keeping in repair the post road from New York to Kingsbridge. The road was in a ruinous condition. It was to "Be laid out the breadth of four rod and cleared the breadth of two rodd at least."

The constable had a plenty of work to do, for the city contained a considerable amount of lawlessness. It must be confessed, however, that the law's retaliation was at least as savage as the crimes that offended it. Negroes often gave trouble, though probably they were not as bad as the low piratical whites who haunted the wharves and drinking dens of New York as of any other port. Coiners and note forgers often "found how hard it is apt to go when the law and the thief have quarrels." The more humane punishments were imprisonment, ducking, whipping, pillorying, branding and hanging. In 1736, the Public Whipper was Edward Breuwen. On Jan. 15th of that year he received £2—10—0 for his quarter's salary and fifteen shillings "for sitting in the pillory, and whipping through the town at a cart's tail one Patrick Butler for issueing counterfeited dollars." Fifteen years later this official's pay was increased. In 1751, it was announced that "The Public Whipper of the City of New York being lately dead; if any Person inclines to accept that office with 20£ a year, he may apply to the Mayor and be entered."

Punishments were innumerable. Among many may be instanced the case of John Morris, who in 1768 for sheep-stealing was found guilty, but was granted the benefit of the clergy, burnt in the hand and discharged. The following year Daniel Martin received fifteen lashes for stealing fiddle strings. For defrauding and cheating, Richard Ely "was exalted on a wooden horse on a triumphal car with labels on his breast; after which he was conducted to the public whipping-post where he received a proper chastise-

ment." In 1769, a certain John Jubeart, for passing false dollars, was executed "at the stone fence," near the city. The frail of the opposite sex were treated with equal severity, and negroes were sometimes burnt at the stake. The savage nature of the punishments did not always instil greater respect for the law. On one occasion while witnessing an execution for grand larceny a gentleman had his pocket picked beside the gallows. From 1725 to 1756, the site of the gallows was on the Common: in the latter year this was removed "to the place where the negroes were burnt some five years before called Catiemut's Hill near Fresh Water."

Looking after the safety of the city was considered the duty of every inhabitant. In 1731, there was declared to be a great necessity of a strong and sufficient watch to be kept every night in New York for the safety and peace of the said city. Therefore, all householders in the six wards, "Being able and fit to watch, or to find an able and fit person to watch for him, her or them, or in his, her, or their stead, do and ought, by reason of their habitation, occupation and dwelling, to keep watch within the said city for the preservation of the king's peace and for the arresting and apprehending of all night-walkers, malefactors and suspected persons which shall be found passing, wandering and misbehaving themselves." Of late years great numbers were declared to have come privately into the city, some of whom were suspected to be English convicts. Hence the necessity for a strong watch. The Act called for a constable and eight watchmen every night, and equal

Chippendale secretary and book-case.

See page 111.

duty was to be performed by every ward in the following order: East, Dock, North, South, West and Montgomerie. No boys or servants were to be admitted as watchmen. The Negro Plot afterwards for a time made necessary military watches.

Night-hawks and Mohocks were by no means unknown in New York. They do not appear to have committed such brutal excesses as made them hated and feared in the English metropolis, but they sometimes indulged in the gentle and joyous pastime of beating the watch, wrenching off door knockers and breaking street-lamps. In 1751, a law was passed to curb the exuberance of nocturnal vivacity. It recites that sundry of the inhabitants of the City of New York, as well for the prevention of several evil practices usually committed in the night-time, as for the convenience of persons using the streets about their lawful business, are willing at their own expense to hang out lamps to illuminate the streets of the said city, but are discouraged therefrom for fear that such lamps may be broken, taken down, destroyed or carried away, or the lights therein put out or extinguished. For every such offence a forfeit of £20 was provided.

We occasionally come upon evidence of the pranks played by those Roaring Boys. Two months after the passage of the above Act, we find the following (February 3, 1752): "Last Monday night several of the glass lamps put up about the City were taken down by Persons unknown and left whole in the Meal Market altogether. It is thought to be done by some daring Rakes, in order to convince the own-

ers how easy those lamps might be demolished without discovery." Another and more serious occurrence is reported in July, 1766:

"Four officers sallied from a tavern where they had drunk too freely and near the college began to break the city lamps. A man who keeps a public house there happened to be up and leaning over his door, upon his reproving them, they gave him abusive language, rushed into the house, attacked him with their swords and wounded him in the arm. Then they alarmed and terrified the family and lodgers, some of whom they pulled from their beds. After this—they proceeded down the Broad Way and broke 34 lamps. Meeting the watch they wounded several, but one officer was arrested. The others then went for help and rescued their companion. The next day they were held under heavy bail for the Supreme Court. The penalty was £20 for each lamp."

In 1771, suggestions were made for improving the lighting of the streets. It was recommended that the lamps should be ten feet high and at a distance of fifty feet from one another and four feet out from the houses, the diameter of the lamp globe being ten inches.

Among the acts regulating good order in streets we find that in 1725, the nuisance of dogs running loose was remedied by legislation. The Act recites that "The butchers and other inhabitants of this city superabound in a very great number of mischievous mastiffs, bull-dogs and other useless dogs, who not only run at coaches, horses, chaises, and cattle in the daytime, whereby much mischief has ensued, but in the night-time are left in the streets of this city and frequently tear, bite and kill several cows and render the passage of the inhabitants upon their lawful occa-

sions very dangerous . . . by attacking and flying at them."

In 1731, several important municipal ordinances were passed. One was intended to check mad riding through the streets by slaves as they took their masters' horses to water. If the streets were sometimes in a deplorable condition, as complaints in the papers would argue, this was not because the city fathers were indifferent. In 1731, a law declared that "the former laws of this city made for paving the streets within the same have been much neglected, whereby the citizens and sojourners within the said city are much annoyed, and the intercourse of trade among the inhabitants thereby much lessened." All inhabitants of houses or owners of lots fronting on any street, lane or alley were therefore commanded (at the expense of the landlord) to pave the walk in front and keep it in repair.

In the same year, a law was passed prohibiting any person from casting into the streets, docks, or slips, ashes, oyster-shells, or any kind of carrion or filth. People were forbidden to encumber the streets with building-material. The inhabitants, moreover, "shall on every Friday, rake and sweep together all the dirt, filth and soil lying in the streets before their respective dwelling-houses, upon heaps, and on the same day, or on the Saturday following, shall cause the same to be carried away and thrown into the river, or some other convenient place."

The law for the observance of the Sabbath in New York in 1731 prohibited servile work and buying and selling. It also forbade children, youths,

maids or other persons to meet and sport, play, or make noise or disturbance. No tavern-keepers were to serve customers other than travellers during divine service or preaching. During service, two or more of the constables of the six wards walked through the several streets and lanes of the city with their staffs and took care that the law was duly observed. It was enacted "that if any children, youth, apprentices, servants, or other persons, do fire and discharge any gun, or pistol at any mark, or at random against any fence, pales, or within any orchard or other inclosure, or in any place where persons frequent to walk," the offender should be fined twenty shillings.

It was customary in those days, as now, to welcome the new year with great noise. We are told, in an Act of 1773, that great damages are frequently done on the eve of the last day of December, and on the first and second days of January, by persons going from house to house with guns and other fire-arms, and being often intoxicated with liquor they have not only put the inhabitants in great terror, but committed many mischiefs. A penalty of twenty shillings was provided to stop this.

In 1769, a law was passed inflicting a penalty of twenty shillings for firing "any gun, pistol, rocket, cracker, squib, or other fire-work, in any street, lane, or alley, garden or other inclosure, or from any house, or in any other place where persons frequently walk."

II

VACANT LAND AND TYPICAL HOUSES

When Manhattan Island was first settled, it was covered with trees, with the exception of the low-lying salt meadows. Much of the timber was soon cleared away to make room for meadows and gardens, so necessary to the comfort and pleasure of the English as well as the Dutch.

What is now Exchange Place was originally called Garden Street, and this Street was again called Garden Street in 1728. Maiden Lane was originally the Green Lane. The Corporation under the English rule were always willing to have the city beautified. The inhabitants in 1708 received permission to plant trees in front of their houses. Fifty years later, trees were still a conspicuous feature of the streets.

Swamps, marshes and streams were plentiful. Broad Street was originally a marshy tract through which the Dutch had made the "Graft" or canal. At the foot, it was crossed by a bridge that gave its name to Bridge Street. At the mouth of the inlet was one of the principal landing places for vessels.

Other swampy districts that became well-known landmarks were Beekman's Swamp or Cripple Bush, and a swamp on De Lancey's estate in Greenwich village. The former was below Pearl Street and was not drained till comparatively late. William Wal-

ton's house was only about a hundred yards distant from it. In 1734, were "To be sold 6 Lotts of Land on the West Side of the Swamp or Criplebush, 3 of them front the Road that leads from Spring Garden to the Fresh Water, the other three the Street next to the Swamp; there is 4 good small Houses on them, one in the Possession of Mrs. Scot."

Open spaces even within the narrow confines of the city were not inconsiderable. Besides gardens, there were meadows that were not occupied by houses. Duyckinck's map of 1755 shows King's Farm, west of Broadway, between Dye and Warren Streets, with only "part of it layd out in plots." On the other side of Broadway, facing the King's Farm, was the Common, or Park, which at the northern end was separated from the negroes' burial ground by palisades. The latter adjoined Fresh Water, a lake from which water flowed down both to the North and East River. On the Common, near the site of the present City Hall, was a powder-house. In 1725, a gallows was also erected on the Common.

From time to time, we find complaints of encroachments on the common rights of citizens by individuals. As the houses multiplied and private gardens and open spaces were built over, the importance of common land for pasturage and recreation increased. In 1767, a writer complaining of the high price of milk and its adulteration thinks it arises "from the scarcity and expensiveness of pasturage near this City; and this again proceeds from the late practice of leasing out the Common Lands to people who have large farms of their own adjoining. . . .

They afford us at a small expense earth for the red brick used in all our new buildings and if we were deprived of those lands a great advance in the price of bricks would certainly be the consequence. We should also be deprived of the stone, now much used for underpinning and other purposes. . . . They might at the common expence be put into the best order for pasture, meadow, etc., with proper enclosures and other conveniences, and keepers be hired to look after the cattle, and drive them to and from town and pasture. . . . It is also worth noting that since we are prohibited from hunting or shooting upon other men's lands, it is necessary that the citizens should have some other place for that manly diversion or exercise; otherwise they will be in danger of forgetting to use their firearms with dexterity, however necessary they may be for their own defence, and of sinking into effeminacy and meanness."

In the above communication, the allusion to the prohibition of hunting or shooting on other men's lands shows that an old grievance had only lately been remedied. In fact, only two years previously had an Act been passed to prevent hunting with firearms in the City of New York and the Liberties thereof. By this Act, a twenty shillings fine was incurred by anybody but the owner or his servants "that fires a gun in any orchard, garden, cornfield or other inclosed land, or enters into or passes through it."

"It has long been the practice of great numbers of idle and disorderly persons in and about the City of New York and the Liberties thereof to hunt with firearms and to tread down the grass, and corn, and

other grain standing and growing in the fields and enclosures there, to the great danger of the lives of His Majesty's subjects, the ruin and destruction of the most valuable improvements, the grievous injury of the proprietors, and the great discouragement of their industry."

Another open space was in front of the Fort. At the beginning of the English rule, a market fair had been ordered to be held every Thursday, Friday and Saturday "att the market-house and plaine afore the Forte." Later, however, it was called The Parade, on account of the English garrison exercising here. In 1732, the Corporation resolved to "lease a piece of land lying at the lower end of Broadway, fronting the Fort to some of the inhabitants, in order to be enclosed to make a Bowling-Green there, with walks therein, for the beauty and ornament of said street, as well as for the delight of the inhabitants of this city." It was leased to John Chambers, Peter Bayard and Peter Jay for eleven years at a rent of one pepper-corn per annum.

The lower part of Broadway, being near the residence of the Governor, was always a fashionable quarter. The lots on the west side of Broadway averaged about fifty feet in width and extended back to the Hudson, which was nearer than it is now. Where is now the corner of Battery Park and Broadway, Captain Kennedy, the naval commander and collector of the port, built a fine dwelling-house in 1760, having purchased some ground on which were some small buildings for £66, from Abraham Depeyster. The Stevens, Livingston and other families

followed his example, and the shady stretch reaching up to Trinity Church became known as the Mall.

A rival fashionable district was Pearl Street. One of the old houses built in the Eighteenth Century survived till very recently. Here lived Mr. William Walton, and his house and grounds were typical of many a rich city merchant of his day. It was a brick house, three stories high, relieved by brown stone water-tables, jambs and lintels. His large and fine garden extended down to the water. Another fine residence in this district was the de Peyster house, erected in 1695, in Queen Street, nearly opposite Cedar. This was also three stories high, with a balcony over its double door. Governor Clinton lived here and this house was used by Washington for headquarters. At Broad and Pearl Streets, was the famous Fraunces's Tavern, still standing.

The rich merchants sometimes had their stores and counting-houses adjoining, or in, their dwellings. Sometimes they lived in manor-houses or country-seats in the island a few miles away from the city and drove in to business. The merchants' usual business hours were from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M. In the middle of the century, Hanover Square was the centre of trade; here were the counting-houses of Walton, Desbrosses, Borche, and other great merchants of the City; Lewis Morris lived here, and so did the Waltons.

We find houses of all sizes on lots of varying dimensions. A few extracts from the newspapers will serve to show what kinds of houses could be bought or rented here:

"A lot of land lying on the South side of Queen's Street, thirty two Foot six Inches Front and the same in the Rear, the Length being from said Street to Low Water Mark part of the ground at the old Slaughter House." (1730.)

"A certain House and Lot of Ground, situate, lying and being in Hanover Square in the East Ward of the City of New York, now in the tenure and occupation of Mr. John Aubernau, containing in the Front, Twenty-eight foot in the Rear, Thirty-five foot; running from Hanover Square aforesaid to the Lane formerly called Drain Ditch and now The Sloat."

"The two lots of Land with the Brew-House and Malt-House thereon and a very good Well situate in Ann Street to be sold." (1732.)

"To be sold, the House and Lot of John Symense in the Broad-Way in New York, the House is as good as new, and has very good Stone-Walls; there is a small Kitchen, a Grass Plot, Wood-Yard, several Fruit Trees, and other Conveniences belonging to it, enquire of John Symense now in possession of the Premises." (1734.)

"A good dwelling-house and lot of ground North side of Pearl Street. The house is two stories high and has two rooms on a floor with a kitchen back, a gang-way on the side of it, with a large yard back bounded by the Fort Garden."

"To be let, the storehouse of Mr. Isaac Latouch's, adjoining the dwelling-house; it has a very neat warm room with a fireplace annexed to it, and is an exceedingly commodious store, with proper shelves, and well noted as a dry goods store. It would be very convenient for a batchelor." (1754.)

"A new two-story house and several adjoining lots are for sale fronting Fore Street, 44 feet and Nassau Street 46 feet. It is well built of brick and stone, has three rooms on a floor, seven fireplaces in all, spacious garret, good kitchen, fine large cellars, large entry through the middle of the house and a handsome staircase. Its situation is extremely pleasant near the Rev. Mr. Barclay's and Alderman Van Cortlandt's, where, from the chamber windows you have a beautiful prospect over the Commons and up the North River, being a seat suitable for a gentleman or merchant, having a large storehouse on the back

part 40 feet long with a double door in the front, and a very fine garden, all in good fence." (1754.)

"A house and lot of ground in the Broad-Way, late belonging to Mr. Thomas Duncan, deceased, being in front, 31 feet 3–4, in rear, 41 feet 10–12, in length on the north side, 323 feet and on the south, 321 feet 1–2: from the back of the lot runs a water lot of 41 feet, 10–12 front and rear and 200 feet in length to be sold with the house: In the house are four good rooms on the first and second floors, and an entry all lined with hangings, besides a fine pantry and a bed room; also two convenient rooms in the third story, a good cellar, a cellar kitchen, underneath; to this adjoins a back building of two stories high with four convenient rooms and two cellars." The house was brick. On the bank of the river was a handsome hanging garden, with two flights of stone steps, and a summer-house at the water's edge. The yard was laid with flag stones and there were two cisterns and a pump." (1761.)

It will be noticed that the houses were not numbered. They were identified by signs. These must have made the streets look exceedingly picturesque. The signs were usually appropriate to the occupation of the tenant or owner of the house. Thus, we have John Brinner at the Sign of the Chair, a cabinet-maker. Other instances are: C. O. Bruff (goldsmith) Teapot and Tankard; James Duthie (druggist) Golden Pot; Peter Goelet (ironmonger) Golden Key; Jacob Wilkens (brass-founder) Andiron and Candlestick; Robert Boyle (pewterer) Dish; Peter T. Curtenius (ironmonger) Golden Anvil and Hammer; Joseph Cox (upholsterer and cabinet-maker) Royal Bed and Star; Thomas Brown (ironmonger) Cross-daggers; Samuel Lawrence (coach-maker) Chariot and Phaeton; Cornelius Ryan (tailor) Sun and Breeches; Jos. Stephens and Jno. Newstead (livery

stable) Two Running Horses; Moses Taylor (brazier) Cat and Kettle; William Anderson (tailor) Hand and Shears, etc., etc. Other signs include the Dove and the Rainbow; Bible; Bible and Crown; Blue Ball; Golden Broad-Ax, Lock and Key; Horse and Cart; The Rose and Crown; Sign of the Two Cupids; Golden Fleece; Chariot; Unicorn and Mortar; Highlander; Chair Wheel; The Admiral Vernon; Chair Box and Carriage; Platter; Three Pigeons; Black Horse; Quadrant and Surveying Compass; Dog's Head in the Porridge Pot; St. George and the Dragon; Bunch of Grapes; King's Arms; Duke of Cumberland; Prince of Orange; etc., etc.

It was not alone the house of business that was known by its sign. Occasionally we meet with a notice such as this: "To be sold, a good brick dwelling-house in John Street, near Alderman Courtlandt's and known by the Sign of the White Bear."

It would seem that flagstaffs and vanes were rare on the buildings, or, at least, that they were worthy of special notice. For example: "John Browne, lately married the Widow Breese, continues his Leather Dresser's business in Smith's Fly near Beekman's Swamp, or Cripple Bush; at the south end of the house a staff is erected, with a Vane on the top of it."

When Kalm visited New York in 1748, he noted that there was no good water in the city; and he mentions that "at a little distance there is a large spring of good water, which the inhabitants take for their tea and for the uses of the kitchen. Those, however," he continues, "who are less delicate on this

Bedroom in the Van Cortlandt house.

See page 105.

point, make use of the water from the wells in town, though it be very bad." The spring that he refers to became the Tea-Water Pump, situated at what is now Roosevelt and Chatham streets. Here an engine was soon erected that forced the water up. This is sometimes referred to as the "Fresh-Water Engine from which the town is supplied." This was the chief source of tea-water until about 1800. The well was about twenty feet deep and was capable of producing daily a hundred and ten hogsheads, each containing a hundred and thirty gallons. The water was carted to town in hogsheads and casks. This spring was also a favourite resort and near it an ornamental garden had been laid out and called the "Tea-Water Pump Garden."

Among the wells in the city, the most frequented was that near the pond known as the Collect and the one in Greenwich between Thames and Cedar Streets near Comfort's Dock. Every morning and evening the slaves came in great numbers to fill their kegs with "Comfort's Tea-Water."

The pleasure that the inhabitants of New York took in gardens is constantly in evidence. As the town grew, it was natural that real estate in the business centre should become more valuable, and consequently that the gardens should be sacrificed and cut up into town lots. We sometimes meet with announcements like the following (1734): "To be Sold. The house, Store house and garden of Benjamin D'harriet, situate in Wall St. and several lots of ground in John St. on the West Corner of Gold St., formerly the garden of Mr. John Outman."

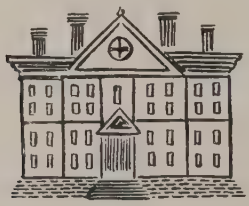
The gardens were laid out according to the national or individual tastes of the owners. In the early years of the century, the formal Dutch garden predominated, but as the English, French, Italian or Chinese garden came into vogue abroad, people of wealth and fashion here eagerly adopted the new styles. Advertisements of able gardeners in want of situations are plentiful, and so are offers of all sorts of flower-seeds, fruit-trees, and other necessaries for a well-appointed garden. In 1771, there is a notice of a man being killed by a summer-house, that he was moving, falling upon him. This was in the garden of a Mr. Faulkner, near Cowfoot Hill. The famous grottos of Twickenham and other English estates were imitated here. In 1765, Henry Smith, Church Street, wants to sell a fine collection of curious shells for grotto-work. In 1751, the following announcement appears:

"Any gentlemen or others desirous of adorning their gardens, Tops of their Houses or doors, etc. with Flower Pots, Incence Pots, Urns, Vases, or any other Ornament capable of being made with clay, may be supplied by Edward Annerly near the Fly Market, he having Set up the Potter's Business by Means of a Family of Germans he bought, supposed by their work to be the most ingenious in that Trade that ever arrived in America, at his Estate at Whitestone, where he has clay capable of making eight different sorts of Earthenware, a large quantity of various kinds being already made fitting to be baked, which will be soon."

The varieties of architecture, landscape-gardening, etc., most in favour in the middle of the century are shown in the following advertisement:

"Theophilus Hardenbrook, surveyor, designs all sorts of buildings well suited to both town and country, Pavillions,

Summer Rooms, Seats for Gardens, all sorts of Rooms after the taste of the Arabian, Chinese, Persian, Gothic, Muscovite, Paladian, Roman, Vitruvian and Egyptian; also Water houses for Parks, Keepers' Lodges, burying Places, Niches, Eye Traps to represent a Building terminating a Walk, or to hide some disagreeable object, Rotundas, Colonades, Arcades, Studies in Parks or Gardens, Green Houses for the Preservation of Herbs, with winding Funnels through the Wall so as to keep them warm, Farm Houses, Town Houses, Market Houses, Churches, Altar Pieces: He also connects all sorts of Truss-Roofs and prevents their separating by a new Method, and also all sorts of Domes, Spires, Cupolos, both pile and Hanging Bridges. Note: He designs and executes beautiful chimney-pieces as any here yet executed. Said Hardenbrook has now opened school near the New English Church, where he teaches Architecture from six o'clock in the Evening till Eight." (1757.)



"To be Sold or Let." (1767.)

III

HOUSE-BUILDING, FIRES, RENTS AND MAILS

The citizen was ever in dread of fire. Houses built in the Eighteenth Century were principally of wood. The introduction of fire-engines in 1731 was due to Stephen de Lancey and his partner, John Moore. They sent to London in May of that year for two engines "with suction and materials thereto," and upon their arrival a room in the City Hall was arranged for their accommodation. They were used for the first time on Dec. 6th, 1732, when a fire broke out at midnight in a joiner's house. The report says: "it began in the garret where the people were all asleep, and burnt violently; but by the help of the two fire-engines which came from London in the ship *Beaver*, the fire was extinguished, after having burnt down that house and damaged the next."

Within a very few years, engines were being manufactured here. In 1739, "A Fire Engine that will deliver 2 Hogsheads of Water in a minute, in a continued Stream is to be Sold by Wm. Lindsay the Maker thereof."

In 1731, a law for the better preventing of fire required two viewers of chimneys and hearths to see that the latter were kept clean. It also ordered every owner of a house that had three fire-places to keep two leather buckets on hand; and one bucket, if less

than three fire-places. The buckets had to be allowed out of the rent by the landlord, whose initials they had to bear. Every brewer had to keep six buckets, and every baker three. One of the frequent fatal fires was reported as follows:

"Mr. Thos. Duncan's house burnt with wife and 4 children, eldest daughter (18) saved by jumping out of a window three stories high into the arms of a gentleman who had encouraged her to this dangerous tho' only expedient. . . . The house with many valuable effects were entirely destroyed; but by the industry of the inhabitants, who are deservedly celebrated for their zeal and dexterity in extinguishing fires, assisted by the gentlemen of the army and the soldiers now quartered here, it was prevented from extending farther. One Mr. Flanagan, for being too industrious at the above fire, was committed to gaol."

The almanac of 1776 informs us that the city "Fire Engines are kipt at the Fort, four at the City Hall, one at Hanover Square, one near the Chapel, one Maiden Lane, and one at the Alms House. To manage which are one engineer, two assistants; and from each of the six wards twelve Firemen."

In September, 1749, there was a long article in the *Post-Boy* from a contributor who wished to help his fellow citizens to provide against the dangers of fire. His arguments give us considerable knowledge of the condition of the houses of the period. The majority of the roofs being shingle, the great danger of conflagration arose from flying embers from other fires. He says:

"The danger is greatly increased for want of a conveniency readily to come at every part of the roof, most houses having only a way to come at the chimney, and some even not that.

The method usually taken is to knock a hole through the roof as near the place afire as they can; and if they have the good luck to put the fire out, yet is the house greatly damaged. In order to prevent this good servant (fire) from becoming a bad master, I would advise every man to erect a balcony over the ridge of the roof of his house.

"In extreme dry times such a place would be convenient for tubs and pails of water,—for the springs then being low and most part of the wells in the city exhausted and dry, yielding very little water at a time, a considerable stock may be got and kept ready there against a time of need. This balcony may be useful in many ways. All gentlemen of fortune and substance might keep up there, a small garden or fire engine, which costs from £15 to £20. This will enable them to keep their own roofs wet and play upon any contiguous burning house.

"They may sometimes from the tops of their houses for their own diversion, water the gardens with the water already there which by long standing in the sun would be rendered more fit for that purpose than cold water from the well. They may wash the dust from their roofs, and thereby render the water they receive into their cisterns more clean and pure. When they intend their servants should sweep their streets, they may from thence sprinkle and allay the dust. Thus by frequent use, themselves and others may become expert in working of the engines, which will also thereby be kept in good order. . . . There are above 500 persons in this city able to provide a small engine without prejudice to their estate. . . . Further, such a balcony would afford a commodious place for the observations of those versed in astronomy; having a clear and uninterrupted prospect, freed from intervening objects. These observations generally being made at night, the curious thus employed would be as so many sentinels to discover the first breaking out of any fires in the neighbourhood, which would produce a satisfaction in any man's breast to find himself thus eminently serviceable to the public. Here a man may sometimes repair and with pleasure behold the beauties of a rising or setting sun; and by it correct his watch or clock, and

have the prospect of the neighbouring gardens, objects on the river, etc., which to some men would be no disagreeable amusement, and all without going from home."

This public-spirited citizen next has a few words to say about methods of building. We gather that the upper part of the roof had a considerable space on which a man with care could walk from end to end and side to side, but this left much to be desired in comfort and safety, for these roofs not being enclosed with rails, and having a considerable slope or descent, a man could walk well enough in the day and in dry weather, but when rendered slippery in wet or frosty weather, those who ventured there risked their lives, especially in the hurry and confusion of fire. The writer therefore recommended his fellow citizens to heed God's ordinance in Deuteronomy xxii, 8. "When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thy house if any man fall from thence." He continues:

"How would it cut a man to the heart to see his friend lie bleeding in the street when he might by a small charge and reasonable care have prevented it! If a man is not utterly void of compassion and gratitude to his benefactor, or sympathy for his friend, he must needs feel a sting in his breast upon and after such an unhappy accident;—besides the great discouragement it gives others to be active on the like occasion. To the honour of the inhabitants of this city, be it spoken, that their dexterity and readiness in extinguishing of fires is singularly remarkable, and generally attended with great success, even beyond what might be hoped for.

"Upon the first touch of the fire bell, how soon do our streets swarm with men from all parts! and their willingness and expeditious behaviour has even surprised the strangers

amongst us who have seen it." [The writer then proceeds to cite many instances of threatening fires that were put out with remarkable skill and bravery, and pays a handsome compliment to the firemen and authorities. He then passes on to show how a man's house may be made reasonably safe. He invokes the Legislature, first, to offer a premium to him who shall make by a limited date one thousand of the best tiles;] "also a bounty to any merchant importing any quantity in proportion to what parcel he imports. As there is plenty of clay in this province . . . in the space of six years, a sufficient quantity of tile might, by the like encouragement be procured; especially since the breaking up of the war affords us a number of idle hands. Let me add here for information of some that know it not that several houses in this town have been tiled with very good pantiles made at Albany, as cheap as they could be had from Holland. Witness Mr. Bayard's Sugar House."

He next proposes a tax on all houses roofed with shingles, and a bounty on so much a foot for every house covered with tiles: "Roofs I say, because the gable ends of some houses are decked with shingles against N. E. storms and rains where tiles cannot be used. . . . But the flat sort of tile, such as is generally used in the City of London is preferred before the hollow sort as being easiest made and therefore cheapest." The writer goes on to draw unfavourable comparisons between the houses of his day and those formerly built here:

"The last fire in Duke Street could not have been so soon mastered had it not been for the tiled houses on each side, and a large high roof likewise tiled a little to leeward of the fire was looked on as a check. That very house would have stood but an ordinary chance to have escaped had it been shingled. Here observe the care and circumspection of our forefathers in covering their houses in such a manner as affords daily proofs of their prudence when we their sons are indolent and degenerate;

we must praise their prudence, but our children will blame our folly." [Our reformer next suggests that if there are any objections against pantiles or flat tiles, such as the expense, or lack of time to procure them, even then Nature has sufficiently furnished us with means of security by giving us plenty of very good slate, since there are several places on the North River where there is as much slate to be had as would load a thousand ships.]

It may be that the solicitude shown by this writer for the improvement of roofing in New York is not entirely disinterested, for having reached this point of employing slate, he interpolates: "Any mason or others who desire to know the method of cutting and laying on of slate, may be informed by signifying his desire in this paper."

Next comes the question as to the means of raising the premiums to be paid for the manufacture of tiles. Five hundred pounds would probably suffice and this might be easily raised by taxing shingled houses. Besides this, there might be "a tax on coaches and chaises kept for pleasure generally by able men; a tax on luxury and extravagances; a duty on shingles, and other things that might easily bear it; as an extravagance in dress in particular."

In 1761, it was enacted that houses erected in the city after Jan. 1st, 1766 should be made of stone or brick, and roofed with tile or slate, under a penalty of £50. The reason given for this law was "the frequent instances of the extensive destruction made by fire in many populous cities. . . . And there being reason to apprehend that great part of this city, from the number of the houses in the same being roofed with shingles is peculiarly exposed to the rage of

that dreadful element." The enforcement of this law was, however, deferred till Jan. 1st, 1774. The reason given in 1765 was that "a sufficient quantity of slate or tile cannot at present, be had, or procured, to cover, or roof the houses and buildings that are yearly erected within this city."

It appears that the legislature adopted some of the suggestions of the above writer, for in March, 1774, it was announced that "the money arising from the Act laying a tax on dogs and cats in this city and county, passed last session, is to be given as a bounty for the making of tile for covering houses in this place." An Act was also passed regulating the size of bricks. The consequence was that in April, 1774, the papers stated that the hard sort of bricks had risen from twenty-eight to forty shillings per thousand, and the soft sort from sixteen to thirty shillings.

One of the peculiarities of early New York architecture, both without and within the houses, was the use of tiles. This especially struck Madam Knight when she visited the city in 1707. She noticed that the bricks in the houses were of various colours and arranged in patterns, and she remarked upon the tiled hearths and mantel-trees and noticed that the staircases were even laid with white tile. This, of course, was Dutch in origin, and the use of this form of decoration continued in many of the houses. Although we have seen the complaints that were made against the extensive use of shingles, it is manifest that some of the houses were constructed with the more solid materials. Tiles, both for roofing and for ornamenting the chimney, are frequently advertised.

In 1749, "Scripture tiles with the chapter and some plain white ones" are for sale. In 1766, John Franklin offers "a quantity of yellow brick and best blue glazed Holland roof tiles." Another advertisement of the day reads:

"Plain tyles to cover Buildings, made by Daniel Hendrickson, at Middletown Point, the same sort as are made use of in and are the Soundest and most lasting covering made use of (except the best light sort of Slate) and are generally preferable to the Boston Slate, being lighter and cheaper. No weather can penetrate if properly laid, and are the safest of any covering against Fire being not subject to fly by any heat. To be sold by J. Edward Prayor near Commissary Lakes, at the North River, New York, or by the above maker, where also may be had in the Spring, choice rubbing Bricks for uniting arches, or any Mouldings for Cornices; will also stand Fire for Ovens or Furnaces."

It has often been remarked how strangely old customs survive. The change of residence on the First of May was as usual in the Eighteenth as in the Twentieth Century. A surprising instance of this occurs in 1734, when the "printer apologizes for the shortness of the Weekly Journal, he being obliged to follow the custom of the town at May Day, and change his habitation."

Occasionally we get a glimpse of the rent required for certain houses. Thus in 1754, there is to be let "A very large house in King Street, next door to the Hon. Daniel Horsmanden Esq.; as it stood empty last year, if any good family wants it for the present year, they may have it for £20, paying the tax and keeping it in repair. It used to be let for £48 a year."

Another new brick house in King Street was to be sold about the same date. It rented for £50 per annum. In February, 1764, the editor of the *Gazette* noted that he had heard there were more houses to be let in the City than there had been at any time for seven years past. It would appear that the rent question occasionally caused friction in the community. In 1749, we find an interesting address to a Hebrew who had moved into a new neighbourhood and found himself an unwelcome guest because he had made good use of his talents for business. An interesting side light is thrown on local customs in this document:

"To the Israelite of the Tribe of Judah, lately removed near Fudge's Corner.

Sir,

As it has been a custom for many years past to address new neighbours, we do out of mere form congratulate you into this our neighbourhood, but wish you may not answer the character given you by some people. We are informed you have made it a practice of late years to overbid many persons in their rents, whereby they have been put to great trouble and expense . . . . . we are assuredly informed that you was the first person discovered to be guilty of that most scandalous practice.

Alas! J———e, from the gay appearance and haughty spirit of your consort, we imagine your purse will soon be exhausted, we would therefore advise you to use proper means to prevent it before it is too late. We blame you much for hiring your now dwelling-house at so great a rent and for a term of years, when it is probable rents will fall at least one-half, we advise you therefore to pay your rent as it becomes due, otherwise the consequences may prove abortive.

It is become a custom with us to invite our new neighbours members of our club, but as we are informed you are a common disturber, we decline paying you that compliment."

Silver tea-kettle and stand (1762–'63) owned by the Ver Planck family, now by Mrs. Louis Fitzgerald.

See page 143.

In the same year, it is announced that a number of tenants propose to form a small club contributing 6d. a piece for a ducking-stool for any one who agrees to give a higher rent than the present tenant, in view of the base prevalent practice of raising house-rents by means either of a tenant taking a house over another's head by offering a higher rent, or else the landlord's baser practice of saying so, in order to raise it.

Before closing this chapter, it may be well to enumerate the buildings that existed in the city towards the end of the period under review. In 1766, as has already been stated, New York contained 3223 houses. The churches included Trinity Church, St. Paul's Church (which was not yet completed), St. George's Chapel, the Old and the New Dutch Churches, a synagogue, and churches or meeting-houses of the French, Presbyterians, German Calvinists, Seceders, or Scotch Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Moravians, and Quakers. The Lutherans also had two places of worship. Then there was the "Governor's Palace" at Fort George, King's College, the Alms House, Exchange, New Gaol, Hospital at the Battery and the Barracks.

There were five markets, known as Coenties, Old Slip, Fly, Oswego and New. Lastly, there was the City Hall. Here the General Assembly and the Council met, the Supreme Court and the Mayor's Court were held, and a public library was kept. The domestic mail service was good. The postmaster of New York had a good deal of business to attend to. He frequently advertises the names of many (sometimes hundreds) of people for whom

letters are lying in his office. It seems to have been a custom for him to extend credit for the delivery of these in many cases, since he sometimes announces he can give no more. The following announcement supplies us with the particulars for the year 1753:

"The Post Office will be removed on Thursday next to the house of Mr. Alexander Colden, opposite to the Bowling Green in the Broad-Way, where the Rev. Mr. Pemberton lately lived; where letters will be received and delivered out every day (Saturday afternoon till the arrival of the posts and Sundays excepted) from 8 to 12 A. M. and from 2 to 4 P. M. except on post nights when attendance will be given till 10 P. M. And all letters for persons living in town that remain uncalled for on post nights, will, on Monday morning be sent out by a penny post provided for that purpose.

N. B. No credit in future will be given for postage of letters."

Regular communication was kept up with England by packet-boats that plied between New York and Falmouth. The mails carried by these were made up both in London and New York on the second Saturday in every month. New York despatched mails to Boston every Monday and Thursday; to Albany, on Monday; and to Philadelphia, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The names of the Falmouth packets at that date were: *The Lord Hyde* (Capt. Goddard); *The Harriott* (Capt. Robinson); *The Duke of Cumberland* (Capt. Goodridge); and *The Earl of Halifax* (Capt. Bolderson).

There was a great deal of coming and going between New York and ports in Great Britain. Distinguished officials and members of the English nobility were frequent visitors. We often find notices

of titled Britishers who are touring in the Colonies. A distinguished passenger list in 1769 included: the Duchess of Gordon, who had become the wife of Staats Long Morris, of the Morrisania family and had made a trip on horseback with him to the headwaters of the Susquehanna; Lady Moore; Miss Franks, Miss Burges, Miss Connor, Capt. Davis, Capt. Stanton, and about twenty others.

IV

COUNTRY-SEATS AND FARMS

Attractive and delightful as the city itself undoubtedly was, the country beyond must have been still more charming. Manhattan Island as well as Staten Island, the Jersey shore and Long Island were dotted with country-seats, mansions and farm-houses pleasantly situated in fine grounds. In many cases these estates were comparatively small in area, as their owners did not depend on farming for a living, but had offices, shops or counting-houses in New York. They could come to town by boat, or drive, reaching their places of official or commercial business from 10 to 11 A. M. and leaving in time to dine from 2 to 3 P. M.

The great majority of the wealthy citizens were interested in the shipping business directly or indirectly. Even if they did not build or own trading ships, or privateers, they were generally direct importers. Everybody tried to make money, and ladies of the best families had shops of their own. Ease and luxury at home were cultivated, and in most cases the mansions were situated within reach of all that earth, forest and sea could yield. This will be made plain by a few descriptions of this class of real estate :

"A Large Brick House well furnished (where Mr. James Harding lately lived) near New York Ferry, on Long Island, with a large Barn well covered with Cedar, a large Handsome Garden, and about Ten Acres of Land in a fine young Orchard, finely situated either for a gentleman's country-seat or a Publick House, is to be sold at a Reasonable Rate by Edward Willet, the owner thereof." (1732.)

"The plantation of the late Captain Thomas Coddrington, of 30 acres of land and two out lots of 8 acres each, orchard, dwelling-house, etc. in the bounds of Harlem, 5 miles from the town, S. E. side of the island. Plenty of lobsters and fish near the house." (1738.)

"An estate at Whitestone, near Flushing, very pleasantly situated on the Sound, consisting of a good dwelling-house, stable, chair-house, &c. with or without a large storehouse, wharf, etc., a garden of two acres walled in and well laid out with the best of fruit trees, gravel and grass walks, asparagus beds, flowering shrubs, flowers, etc., a large orchard, with mowing and pasture land." (1753.)

"A farm for sale, a quarter of a mile beyond Flushing on the road to Whitestone Ferry, containing 110 acres whereof 20 acres are in wood, and a growing swamp, lying little better than a mile from the house, 7 acres of salt meadow close by and the rest all in one body within a good stone ditch . . . . with a good and convenient dwelling-house, barn, milch, hen and pidgeon house well stocked with pidgeons; a curious flower and kitchen garden, orchard and mowing ground before the door; a well with a pump in the yard and a living spring a stone throw from the door and many other conveniences fit for any gentleman." (1754.)

"To be let May next: The farm or Plantation belonging to the Estate of Joseph Bowne, late of Flushing, deceased, containing 40 acres of choice Upland and Meadow, all in good Fence: There is on it a commodious, large Dwelling-house, furnished with nine Rooms, five of which have Fireplaces with a large Kitchen adjoining to the same; likewise, a good bearing Orchard, with a variety of Fruit trees also a good Barn, Storehouse, and other Out-Houses." (1760.)

Mr. Bayard's, described below, was a good example of an ordinary country-seat near New York in the middle of the century (1760):

"To be let: The island called Hoobock in New Jersey, directly opposite the City of New York, lying on Hudson's River, containing between 700 and 800 acres, two-thirds of which is upland and one-third salt meadow. It is in the best order, has on it a garden of about five acres filled with a choice collection of English fruit, such as peaches, pears, plums, cherries, necterns and apricots. There is on it a very large dwelling-house, which the landlord keeps himself; and another very good one adjoining, both under one roof, which latter hires with the island; and under the whole are very large convenient cellars, together with an extraordinary kitchen. A few feet distance from the dwelling is a large new kitchen which has three rooms on each side, therefore more fitting for a family, having also the same conveniences as above mentioned; likewise the most commodious dairy for at least 30 cows.

"There are also other out-houses, as a new smoke house, fowl house, a large stable with stalls for ten horses on one side, and a fine roomly place on the other to work in when dirty weather, over which is a granary with apartments for all kinds of grain, and at the contrary end a hay-loft which will contain a great quantity of hay, besides all which there is a very large roomly barn for cows on the one side, and another for horses on the other. There are likewise on the farm a good cider mill and house over it, the loft of which will hold about 20 load of hay.

"There will be let with the premises a good wagon, cart, ploughs, harrows and farm utensils of every sort; as also 100 good sheep, among which are English rams; also 30 good milch cows and 30 head of cattle from one to four years old.

"Besides an old orchard, which in good years will produce 70 or 80 barrels of cider, there are also set out near 1,000 apple trees, all grafted with the best of fruits, some of which bore last year.

"This farm has a right in Bergen Commons, to turn out what cattle you please, and be supplied with timber for fencing

and firing; is finely supplied with fish and oysters in the greatest abundance all around it, and scarce anything in America can equal its convenience for marketing, as in good weather you may cross, take one time with another, in half an hour; and in the different seasons of the year abound with plenty of wild fowl; and the farm itself all in good clover. Of the salt hay may be mowed at least 500 loads per year, and of fresh at present 60, but more may be brought. (Apply to William Bayard, living in New York). There will also be let a good pettiauger and canoe.

"The said Bayard has also on it 20 fat hogs, 6 head of fat cattle and a pair of fine oxen, besides some hundred bushels of corn, buckwheat, turnips and fresh and salt hay."

Another advertisement is of a

"Farm on Staten Island, 160 acres, house 45×37; in the Front a Dining-Room and Parlour, and in the rear, three Bedrooms, two of which have Fireplaces. The Dining-Room is 14×19, hung with genteel Paper; the Entry or Passage from the Door, is hung with the same; the Parlour is 19×26, hung with Landskip Paper framed with Papier Machee. Above Stairs are two good Bedrooms, half Story over the Front part of the house; over the back part is a large Granary divided into two Rooms. To the House is joined by a Portal or Piazza, of ten feet, a new Stone Building, thirty Feet by Eighteen. The Part next the House is finished for a kitchen. The extreme End, fronting the South, is designed for a Conservatory or Greenhouse having three Frames of Lights in the Front, containing sixty-six Panes of Glass, 9×11. Within one Inclosure next adjoining the House, is a small Orchard and Garden of about four Acres." This house was situated about a mile and a half from Johnson's Ferry upon a "Point projecting into the River, which opens a most agreeable and extensive Prospect." (1764.)

"In the Out-Ward of the City of New York, near the seat of Mr. De Lancey, called *Bloomendal*, there is to be Sold a Plantation with a very good Stone House, Barn, and Orchard, containing about four or five Hundred Apple-trees and a Pair

Orchard, with a great many fine grafted Pairs. The Land is very well Timbered and Watered; it has a very fine Brook very convenient for a Fish Pond, containing about Two Hundred and Sixty Acres of Land and six Acres of Meadow, situate, lying and being near *Bloomendal* as aforesaid." (1732.)

Another advertisement (1767) will give some idea of what was considered desirable in a typical house and grounds of the period:

"To be sold several lots at Corlear's Hook, about one mile from the City, now in the tenure and occupation of Edward Smith. Dwelling-house, stable, fowl-house and other necessaries; the house contains five rooms, four of which have fireplaces with a good oven in the kitchen, there is a well in the yard 36 feet deep and stoned up all the way, with a new pump. The rest of the land is laid out in a spacious garden, which the present possessor has spared no pains to render both agreeable and profitable, in it there is near 300 fruit trees all in bearing order, consisting of apples, pears, plumbs, peaches, nectarines, apricots, quinces and English cherries; all of the choicest fruit and in great variety; likewise great plenty of currants, gooseberries, raspberries and English strawberries of the different sorts; also eighteen beds of the best Battersea asparagus, in full growth for cutting, besides many thousands of puny plants fit for transplanting the ensuing season with a nursery of several thousand young trees, many of them inoculated with the best kinds of fruit; there is also 100 hills of hops which may be cultivated to good account with little trouble; likewise a root cellar 22 feet by 11 stoned up all around; also a summer house and alcove—the whole is in good board fence and is one of the pleasantest situations about the city as it commands a view of the East River and harbour from Staten Island almost to Hell Gate."

These farms or estates, therefore, were provided with all that could make life pleasant and luxurious. Gardens, greenhouses, fish-ponds, sometimes wharves, stables, paddocks, and, occasionally, deer-parks.

An example of a New York Colonial country-house is shown in the frontispiece. This was built in 1748 by Frederick van Cortlandt. It enables us to form a clear idea of the average solid mansion of the period.

The islands in the bay and river formed one of the important features of the landscape. Where the statue of Liberty now stands was a pleasant and profitable spot in the old days. At one time it belonged to Captain Kennedy, afterwards Earl of Cassilis. It is thus described in 1753:

> "To be Let. Bedloe's Island, alias Love Island, together with the dwelling-house and light-house, being finely situated for a tavern, where all kind of garden stuff, poultry, etc., may be easily raised for the shipping, outward bound, and from where any quantity of pickled oysters may be transported; it abounds with English rabbits."

Governor's Island, then known as Nutten Island, was both useful and ornamental. The channel between it and New York was very shallow; in fact, at low tide, cattle used to walk from one to the other. The Council set it apart as a private domain for the governor of this province. Governor Cosby used it as a game preserve. In 1738, the legislature passed an Act to preserve the breed of English pheasants in this colony. This act declares that "whereas the late Governor [Cosby] did place about a half a dozen couple of English pheasants on Nutten Island and first pinioned them to the end that they might remain there to propagate their species with a view that their increase would spread from thence and stock the country with their kind;

"And whereas, the said fowls not only have increased vastly on the said island, but many of them already spread over to Nassau Island, and in all probability will soon stock the country if people are restrained from destroying them for a few years, the present Governor being also desirous that the whole colony may be stocked with these birds," it was enacted that no birds should be killed nor eggs taken for a year. The experiment was not a success.

The first bridge connecting New York with the mainland was the King's Bridge, across the Harlem River, erected by Frederick Phillipse at the close of the Seventeenth Century. It was a toll-bridge and the charges were ninepence for each carriage; threepence for each horse and head of cattle; and one penny for a person. The people objected to the toll and also to the fact that the gates were locked at night. However, this was the only crossing until 1759, when Free Bridge Dyckman's was opened. This had been built by several private individuals upon Jacob Dyckman's land, a little to the south of the King's Bridge, from which the toll was lifted almost immediately.

The oldest ferry was from the present Peck Slip to the Fulton Ferry in Brooklyn, but no ferry-house was erected until 1698, when one was built on Nassau Island (Long Island), "a good sufficient house of stone and brick, forty foot in length and twenty-four in breadth, for ye accomodation and conveniency of ye persons that farmeth ye said Ferry." The "farmer" kept it as a public house of entertainment. The point where the people from Brooklyn were landed, "Burgher's Path," the "first slip," was known subsequently as the "Old Slip." Ferry-boats landed

here in 1703, and also at "Countess Key" (Fly Market).

About 1732, the ferry rates between Long Island were twopence for every person and double that rate after sunset; for every horse or beast, one shilling; calf or hog, three pence; dead sheep, lamb or calf, twopence; bushel of grain, one penny; every waggon, five shillings; for every gammon of bacon, turkey or goose, one half-penny; and for every hundred eggs, three eggs.

The Ferry at the foot of the Fly Market had become so congested with boats in 1761 that it was found necessary to pass a law "that no sloop, boat or vessel, except small craft such as ferry-boats, market-boats, pettiaugers and canoes shall come within the slip." The penalty was forty shillings. This gives us some idea regarding the size of the ferry-boats.

In 1772, the city agreed to establish ferries "from Coenties Market to the landing-place of Philip Livingston, Esq., and Mr. Henry Remsen on Nassau Island; another from Fly Market to the present ferry at Brooklyn, and a third from 'Peck Slip' to land at the place last mentioned." Two years later Saint George's Ferry was provided "from a stairs directly fronting the Broad Street at the east side of the Long Bridge, and on Long Island at a stairs built at the dock of Mr. Remsen."

The slips were Whitehall, named from Colonel Moore's large house which was near by; Coenties, named for Coen and Antey (Conrad and Jane) Ten Eyck, who lived at the corner of Little Dock Street; Burling, named for the Quaker Merchant, Edward

Burling; Beekman, named for the family of that name; Peck, named for Benjamin Peck, a wealthy citizen; and one slip on the Hudson side at the foot of Oswego (now Liberty) Street.

In addition to these, there were ferries to Powles Hook, Perth Amboy and Staten Island. Some idea of the latter may be gathered from the following announcement:

"STATEN ISLAND, 1767.

"The subscriber (John Watson) intending to remove to New York, will dispose of the Ferry and Farm he now lives on, being on the East End of Staten Island.

"In regard to a ferry, it is the best situated on the Island, as the boats can go and come from New York with most winds, and but one tide to encounter with, which is of great ease to the passengers, and is the reason that it is more frequented than any of the rest of the ferries; it has also a considerable run for carrying passengers to Long Island, which brings a handsome yearly income. Most of the shipping that goes out of New York anchors just opposite the door, being the anchoring ground for the watering-place, which makes it not only very pleasant, but of considerable advantage to the place, in carrying the passengers and ships crews backwards and forwards to New York. It also occasions a great run to the house which is the very sinew of a tavern. The boats that attend this ferry are often employed to run down to the Hook with despatches for vessels that may be there; and the men of war which often lie here, employ them to bring their ships' stores, etc. from New York. There is an excellent dock for the conveniency of the boats; and the best roads on the island are from this place to Amboy, the old and new Blazing-Star and Elizabeth-Town Point."

A ferry from Perth Amboy to Staten Island was provided in 1737. The rates were fourteen pence (Jersey currency) for man and horse, and fivepence for a single passenger.

Kitchen in the Van Cortlandt house. See page 161.

PART II

HOUSES AND FURNITURE

PART II

HOUSES AND FURNITURE

I

EVIDENCES OF LUXURIOUS LIVING

Before 1700, New York already numbered among her citizens many rich merchants. As early as 1674, there were ninety-four burghers whose estates were valued at more than a thousand guilders each; and twenty-two of these estates represented between five and ten thousand guilders. Johannes van Burgh, Jacob Leisler and Johannes de Peyster were each worth about fifteen thousand. The other rich merchants were Cornelis van Ruyven (18,000); Jeroninus Ebbing (30,000); John Lawrence (40,000); Olaf van Cortlandt (45,000); Nicholas de Meyer (50,000); Cornelis Steenwyck (50,000); and Hendrick Philipsen (80,000).

Wealth was rapidly accumulated from the fur and timber trade and from general barter. Twelve years later, Mr. Steenwyck was worth about £16,000, an immense sum in those days. By 1700, there were a good many burghers whose estates amounted to £5,000. John Spratt (1697) with an estate of £3,779 and Col. Lewis Morris (1691) with £4,928, are instances of opulent Britishers.

An examination of the inventories shows that wealth and luxury were not despised. Men came here to make money, and they spent it lavishly on their homes and persons. They went richly and fashionably dressed, and their homes were provided with every comfort, convenience and ornament it was possible to procure. Their wives wore dresses of rich material and had costly jewelry; their walls were adorned with fine pictures by Dutch masters; their tables were bright with massive silver; and their rooms were full of fine furniture of English, Dutch and Oriental manufacture.

Queen Mary is generally credited with setting the taste in England for porcelains and other Eastern wares when she had shelves and cabinets fitted up in Hampton Court on taking up her residence there in 1690. Long before this, however, porcelain and lacquer ware were found in New York houses, and sometimes in considerable quantities. As the English element began to predominate, merchants of that nation grew rich in increasing numbers and luxury and fashion became more pronounced. The governors who came here were men of birth, breeding

Rush-bottom and leather chairs; in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames. See page 110.

and education, and accustomed to the best that wealth and fashion could give. Bellomont was a friend of King William; Cornbury was a Royal rake of the first order; Hunter was a wit and beau; Burnet was a friend and supporter of the House of Hanover before the accession of George I.; and all the other governors, including De Lancey, had been accustomed to the best society and familiar with kings' courts.

The picture so often drawn of the goodwife spinning in the kitchen, which forms the general living-room of the house, is therefore misleading when we are dealing with the wealthy class. The latter lived in fine houses in town with adjoining gardens, stables and offices, or had country-seats not far from the city where they were in easy reach of business. There were very few of them who were not engaged in shipping or foreign trade of some kind. They made money in all sorts of ways; farming was the least of their activities. In fact, farming on a large scale was not possible, because the area of land around their country-seats was usually comparatively small.

Take, for instance, the country-seat of Alexander Colden, Esq. It is described as "situate on Nassau Island, fronting and commanding a fine view of the harbour and city of New York. It consists of a dwelling-house and about nine acres of excellent land. The house is large and commodious, and the offices numerous and convenient. In the garden and orchard are choice collections of fruits, and of the best Newtown, Spitzenburg and other apple-trees; and towards the river on a wharf newly erected are a storehouse and boat house."

The merchants and gentry of New York were always ready for a trade venture that promised profit. It must be confessed also that they were not always over scrupulous. They would traffic with pirates and send supplies to their haunts; and notwithstanding prohibitions, they would barter firearms and fire-water with the Indians. They did not hesitate to evade the laws of trade, such as customs, when they could safely do so; and sometimes they were publicly accused of giving aid and comfort to the King's enemies by furnishing the French and Spanish with provisions, arms and munitions of war. Their privateering ventures also prospered; and the result of this miscellaneous foreign and domestic trade was that the riches, luxuries and elegances of two hemispheres were landed on the wharves of New York.

The simplest way to gain a clear idea of the interior of the wealthier homes of citizens during the Eighteenth Century is to examine a few of the inventories of men in different stations of life;—official, mercantile and professional—beginning early in the century.

Let us note for the sake of future comparison the possessions of one Cornelis Jacobs in 1700, who was worth £1953–19–3. He owned a cedar chest worth £3; six leather and six cane chairs, £6; three hammocks, £2; a chest-of-drawers, two stands and a table, £7; a walnut table, £1–10–0; three looking-glasses, £3–12–0; five pictures, £2; a whitewood bedstead with furniture, including a speckled silk coverlid, £12–7–0; a pair of brass andirons and iron frame, £1–4–0; 1 pair of andirons and 1 pair of dogs,

£1–10–0; 1 cupboard and lignum-vitæ punchbowl, £2; a bedstead and furniture, £7–10–0; a children's bedstead and furniture, £1–10–0; a table and six old chairs, 10 shillings; a brass lamp, 3 shillings; 1 glass case, three shillings; two chimney cloths, 10 shillings; a white muslin cloth for chest of drawers, £0–7–6; and a great deal of brassware, pewter, china, earthenware and linen.

Mr. Jacobs was a good example of an ordinary Dutchman, for he had a few luxuries. His books were worth no less than £6, and his 295½ ounces of wrought plate, £103–8–6. He possessed wrought and unwrought gold equal to £32–5–0; a watch valued at £4; two East India small trinkets, £2–10–0; a "cokernut" shell tipped with silver, £1; a silver-headed sword, £3–10–0; two canes, £3; two clasped books, £2–10–0; "a chaine of pearl," £5; a feather tippet, £1–4–0; a silver box and four buttons, £0–19–3; "a china lackered bowl," £0–3–0; two tortoiseshell combs, £0–10–0; and a great deal of money, some of it Arabian and Spanish. His house, kitchen and ground were valued at £300.

Six-legged high case-of-drawers in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames. See page 109.

Turning to an English household in Queen Anne's

reign, let us see what Col. William Smith of St. George's, Suffolk Co., owned in 1705. He was worth £2589–4–0. To begin with, he had six bedsteads, the handsomest hung with silk and valued at £30, and three, worth £20, furnished with fine calico curtains. He had a "landskip screen," £2–10–0; a handsome chest of drawers of walnut and olive wood, £15, and two other chests of drawers, £2–15–0; one large Japanned looking-glass, £10, and two others £0–15–0; fifty-two chairs, seven of which are large elbow chairs, thirteen leather, and twenty-three cane, altogether £27–1–1; a number of feather beds and a good deal of household linen; seven bed quilts, one of which was of silk and worth £8.

He owned five fine twisted rugs valued at £35; seventeen flannel blankets worth £1 each; silk and other cushions, £3–10–0; three Turkey-work carpets and a blue cloth carpet, £4; a table, two comb boxes and two powder boxes, £3; a "silk twilite" for a table and 8½ yards of silk, £4; pictures worth £3–10–0; holland muslin and cambric, £35; an hour-glass and two cases of knives, £1–4–0; six great black leather trunks, £6; another one, and also two large hair and three small hair trunks, £4–10–0; four large cases and bottles, £6; 1 case Venice glasses, £3; and books, £40; silver plate, £150; pewter, £20; chinaware, £5; and flint glasses, £3–14–0.

Among his miscellaneous articles, we may note a violin, worth £3; a fishing-rod, two screws for letters and two pewter standishes; a silver hilted cane, £3; a blunderbuss and some pistols; three swords, £8; a Turkey scimiter, £5–10–0; a large compass, two per-

spective glasses; an instrument to try pearls, 12 shillings; a loadstone and a touchstone, £2; and two silk colours and two drums, £15. His wearing apparel was valued at £109; and, in addition, he owned two seals, £2; 104 silver buttons, £5–10–0; a silver watch and gold buttons, £5–10–0; eleven embroidered belts, £110; two razor cases, and a hone, and sixteen razors, £3.

Colonel Smith was one of the residents who owned a coach, which, with cushions and harness, equaled £40; and a number of saddles, valued at £12–10–0, among which was a velvet saddle and a velvet side saddle worth £10.

Judging from this list of articles, even in the days of Queen Anne, when the town was amused or shocked at the pranks of her kinsman, the wild Lord Cornbury, there was considerable wealth and luxury, which had increased very greatly by the time George I. ascended the throne. Four years after the latter event (1718), Captain Giles Shelly of New York had the following household furniture. As he was a very rich man, worth no less than £6812–16–7½, it is not surprising to see that he had surrounded himself with every comfort. Among his goods, were five bedsteads. One had red china curtains; one was a sacking bedstead with blue shalloon curtains; one, a canopy bedstead with silk muslin curtain and white muslin inside curtain and valance; another, with a head and tester cloth; and the last, a sacking-bottom bedstead with a suit of striped muslin curtains lined with calico, a chintz quilt going with the latter.

He had seventy chairs: one red plush elbow, one

easy-chair, two elbow chairs, six of Turkey-work, twenty-one of cane, and twenty-seven matted, and twelve of leather. One cane couch was also among his possessions. Then there were thirteen tables: one, a small oval, one a large painted oval and one a large oval; one clock and case; one repeating clock; six looking-glasses, two pairs of sconces, one of which was gilt; a hanging candlestick; a pair of brass candlesticks with snuffers; two trays for tea; a brass lantern; "a brass hearth with hooks for shovel and tongs;" a dressing-box; two chests-of-drawers; a chest-of-drawers and looking-glass; a dog painted on a board; two warming-pans; seventy-four pictures, some in black and some in gilt frames, some black prints and "one landskip chimney piece;" five chests; three Turkey-carpets; three pairs muslin curtains and valance; four calico curtains with valance and chimney cloth; a flowered muslin toilet; a suit of calico curtains; a red and gold satin carpet; an embroidered counterpane; three pair of arras hangings; "the arras hangings from the Bowery;" four hand fire-screens a parcel of sand-glasses; a red rug; a prospect glass; and many feather beds, handsome brass hearth furniture, and pewter and copper for the kitchen.

He had a case of knives and two silver-handled knives; a chafing-dish; a great deal of valuable plate, including a tankard of 24 oz., two silver chafing-dishes and a pair of silver salts. The china included a red tea-pot, three basons, a sugar-box, twelve images and "six chaney lions." Captain Shelly owned a sword, four small arms and a trumpet. Forty-five beer glasses, a punch-bowl and a pipe of canary and some

bitter wine show that he was fond of good cheer. Two pairs of tables, men and dice prove that he was fond of games; two fine coach horses, that he drove about the country in style; two patch-boxes, that he wore the fashionable *mouches* upon his cheeks; and a lot of jewelry, that he was fond of pretty trinkets. Among his curios, he had a "deer's foot tipped with gold."

As a contrast to the home of a rich country-gentleman, we may examine the belongings of Governor William Burnet, who died in 1729, worth £4540–4–3½. His home in Perth Amboy was luxurious and filled with the most fashionable articles of the day, yet some of it must have belonged to an older period, since certain pieces of furniture are referred to as "much shattered." He owned two eight-day clocks, each valued at £18; a scrutoire with glass doors, £20; eleven tables, one an oval of black walnut, another, a large one of black walnut, a third, a plain tea-table, a fourth, a japanned tea-table, a fifth, a small round table, a sixth, a card-table much shattered; and others, a square table, an oval table, and a small square table, and plain tables.

"A fine gilt cabinet and frame much shattered" must have been an unusual piece of furniture for even in its dilapidated condition it is valued at £12.

This was probably one of those handsome cabinets of the Regency, or early Louis XV. style. His looking-glasses and sconces seem to have been handsome: one is described as large with glass arms; he also had a small dressing-glass. His beds included a "coach bed with chintz curtains," worth £25; there

was another with red curtains, valued at £10; and a third, an iron bedstead, with chintz curtains, worth £7–10–0. Among other articles, were a writing-desk and stand, a linen-press, a horse for drying clothes, an old chest-of-drawers, a mattress of Russia leather, a brass hearth and dogs, two old checquered canvases

Walnut chairs and writing-desk, owned by Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin S. Church. See page 65.

to lay under a table, and "a large painted canvas square as the room." The latter was valued at £8.

The Governor's chairs consisted of twenty-four red leather chairs with embowed backs, worth £28–16–0; fifteen bass bottomed chairs and a child's chair, eight walnut framed chairs, nine embowed or hollow back chairs with fine bass bottoms, £9; seven

walnut chairs with fine bass bottoms, £7; two bass chairs, four ordinary chairs, and an easy chair covered with silk. He owned four pieces of tapestry valued at £20; "a fine piece of needlework representing a rustick", £5; a fire-screen of tapestry work; two paper fire-screens; and two four-leaf screens covered with gilt leather, worth £15.

The silver, china, glass and pewter, were very valuable. He had no less than a dozen silver candlesticks and "two branches for three lights," amounting, with other plate, to 1172 ounces. Three dozen silver knives and three dozen silver forks in three cases were worth another £72; his china and glass, £130–16–0; and the pewter was valued at £100–2–6. Governor Burnet seems to have been quite a collector of pictures. He owned 151 Italian prints, 20 "masentinto prints," besides numerous other pictures in black or glazed frames.

Governor Burnet's successor, Governor Montgomerie, lived no less elegantly. He established himself at Fort George, and prepared in every way to enjoy life, to make friends and to render his rule popular and brilliant. He had eight negro slaves to wait upon him and one to entertain him, a musician, worth double as much as any of the others. The Governor owned sixteen horses, a four-wheeled chaise and harness, a coach with a set of fine harness, two sets of travelling-harness, and a fine suit of embroidered horse-furniture with bridles, bits, etc., etc. His barge with its accoutrements, was worth £25 and he had a small four-oared boat. His wine cellar must have been stocked with choice vintages, since it was

valued at £2500, and his library must also have been unusual, for it was estimated at £200.

Naturally, his dwelling was richly appointed. He had a fine yellow camlet bed valued at £15; a pair of large sconces with gilded frames, £9; walnut framed sconces and branches, £9; an eight-day clock, £8; a repeating table-clock, £8; a large looking-glass with a gilt frame, £4; a gilt leather screen, £3; twelve leather chairs, £3–12–0; six new black-bottomed chairs, £6; twelve new-fashioned matted chairs, £4–8–0; and six yellow chairs,—thirty-six in all; a bed with blue china curtains; four pairs of crimson harrateen window curtains and five pairs of yellow camlet curtains.

Among other articles were a Japanned tea-table, a pair of gilded-frame sconces, a large chimney-glass, and a walnut card-table. Two dozen knives and forks, a complete set of china, Japanned fruit plates, cut glass cruets, water and champagne glasses, and a great deal of silver. His important pictures represented Greenwich Park, a vineyard, some goats, a landscape, sheep-shearing, and a water scene. He had a parrot cage and a "Tycken" umbrella. Some of these articles and some additional ones were offered for sale shortly afterwards.

Passing over a period of ten years, we may gain an idea of a typical rich man's house towards the middle of the century,—that of Rip Van Dam, who had held the office of President of the Council and acting Governor. The house he lived in was worth about £500. It was of brick and was two stories high. The worth of his household furniture

and negro slaves was estimated at from £250 to £300. Among his goods and chattels, he had a Japanned chest-of-drawers, valued at £3; a black walnut table, a looking-glass, a desk and bookcase, ten chairs, an elbow chair, (£4); a clock, (£9); a large table, a chest-of-drawers, twelve leather chairs, twelve black chairs, a mahogany table, a writing-desk, a screen, two sconces, and a backgammon table. He also owned a silver-hilted sword, and twelve gold rings. His negroes came to £50; and his silver to £90.

Two interesting chairs, whose style dates from about 1720, appear on page 62. These are walnut with high crown-backs, jar-shaped splats, cabriole legs and hoof feet. The writing-desk was given by Gen. Washington to Gen. Walter Stewart. They are owned by Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin S. Church, of New York.

"Men, women, boys and girls, to be sold cheap." (1767.)

II

LIVING-ROOMS AND THEIR CONTENTS

The ordinary modest house of the period was of two stories with a basement. On the first floor were two rooms, used for the parlour and dining-room, occasionally divided by glass doors. Up-stairs were three bedrooms, the extra one, of course, being a small one over the hall or entry. In the basement were the cellar-kitchen and the wine-cellar. The kitchen was usually in an additional back building of two stories, the upper one reserved for the negro slaves. Frequently the house had a wing fitted up as an office.

A home of this type was occupied by Abraham Lodge who had built up quite a fortune in his twenty years' practice as a lawyer. The house was so correctly furnished that it may be taken as an example of the prosperous New York home of 1750. It was a two-story brick house with basement. The hall contained four high-backed Windsor chairs and two lanterns. From it you entered the parlour, completely furnished in mahogany. Here were eight mahogany chairs with cabriole legs and claw-and-ball feet, the seats of crimson silk damask. There was a large mahogany scrutoire and bookcase with glass-doors; a small mahogany dining-table; a round mahogany tea-table; and a mahogany card-table. A large pier-

glass, a large chimney-glass, and a large gilt-framed picture brightened the walls, and the room glowed with the light of sparkling logs on the brass andirons, near which stood the customary shovel, tongs and bellows. Eleven other pictures contributed additional ornaments, as well as a great array of cut glass and burnt china ware, then extremely fashionable. A valuable treasure in this room was a casket in which the family jewelry was kept, consisting of a

Child's rocking-chair and leather-covered cradle ; in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames. See page 78.

gentleman's gold watch, a lady's gold watch and several diamond rings. There was also some handsome family silver.

The dining-room was scarcely less comfortable. The fireplace was furnished with brass andirons, and the light was softened by green window curtains. Here was a large mahogany oval table, a clock, ten matted chairs, a large sconce with gilt frame, two glass sconce candlesticks, a number of small pictures

and all the table furniture, among which a lot of blue and white china was conspicuously displayed.

Up-stairs were three rooms. The front bedroom was the guest-chamber, and, like the drawing-room, was furnished with the greatest care in fashionable Chippendale taste. The large mahogany bedstead was unusually handsome because it had claw-and-ball feet; its tester and curtains were of red stamped camlet, and red was the colour of the room. There was a mahogany easy chair with claw-and-ball feet and a crimson silk damask cover and cushion; a mahogany dressing-table with drawers; a mahogany tea-table with claw-and-ball feet and upon it a "painted table cover"; an iron bound chest and a small gilt leather trunk stood on the floor. Upon the walls hung two gilt-framed sconces, two large gilt-framed pictures, three small pictures, and two small black-framed pictures. The china in this room consisted of a large blue and white bowl and six burnt china coffee cups and saucers.

The back bedroom contained a large bedstead and a small folding-bedstead for children. The rest of the furniture comprised a small black-framed looking-glass, two black framed pictures and a small table with leaves. This sombre hue was relieved by the presence of six red leather chairs and the bright fire upon the brass andirons. Mr. Lodge had two silver-hilted small swords and walking-cane.

The third room, over the entry, was small; and here was only an old walnut cupboard—an old-fashioned *Kas*—and a close-chair. The basement was devoted to the cellar, kitchen, wine-cellar, and store-

room. Mr. Lodge kept four slaves, a man, two women, and a girl, who lived over the kitchen at the back of the house. Still farther away was the stable.

Adjoining the house was Mr. Lodge's office, furnished with a writing-desk, table and stand, three matted chairs and his library. Above this office, he had a private room to which he might retire for rest.

The Walton house, built in 1752, and which has already been mentioned, was richly appointed. Most of the woodwork, including the staircase, was of mahogany and the furniture was of this wood. The handsomest curtains were of silk damask, which was the material used for covering many of the chairs and sofas. There were a number of green Windsor chairs in the house. Some of the furniture was upholstered with the hair-seating that had then become fashionable. There were three large walnut and gilt-framed mirrors in the house. Mr. Walton had acquired an immense fortune in his commercial ventures and made himself exceedingly popular. On the return of the British army from their victories in Canada in 1759, he entertained the officers in magnificent style, and it is said that the wealth displayed here was brought forward at home by some of these travellers as a proof that the American colonists were perfectly able to pay taxes for the war. The silver that was in daily use in this luxurious home will be described elsewhere.

Another handsome dwelling was that of de Peyster, in Queen Street, near Pearl. It gained historical interest when Governor Clinton lived there and Washington used the house for headquarters. Abraham de Peyster, a descendant of Johannes de Peyster

(a native of Holland and a merchant of New Amsterdam) and mayor of New York in 1691–'5, was possessed of great wealth.

The house that he built in 1695, and that remained standing until 1856, was situated in Pearl Street, and was a fine specimen of the rich home of the day. It was of three stories with a balcony over its generous door. The parlour, on the first floor, was furnished with a couch and fifteen mahogany and black walnut chairs and several tables: one of these a round mahogany card-table; another, a square mahogany card-table; a third, an old mahogany table; and there were also a Japanned tea-table; and two marble tables and stands. The fireplace was furnished with an iron hearth with brass handles, tongs, shovel, and brush; and near it stood a fire-screen. A mahogany desk and bookcase with glass doors and a large pier-glass completed the furniture of this room.

Upon the walls hung thirteen glazed pictures and three landscape paintings—one large and one small—and seven pictures painted on wood and canvas. Light was contributed by two glass candlesticks with branches. The windows were draped with curtains. Three cases of ivory-handled knives and forks, a case of plated ware, three china punch-bowls, a china basket and twenty china plates, and an entire china tea-service, consisting of tea-pot, cream-jug and sugar-bowl, besides cups and saucers, would seem to indicate that refreshments were served so frequently in this room that it was necessary to keep the dishes there.

The dining-room was directly behind the parlour. Here the most noticeable piece of furniture was the

large mahogany dining-table, but there were also a mahogany tea-board and a round mahogany table. Seven black walnut chairs with blue worsted bottoms furnished the seats; the windows were hung with calico curtains; and a canvas cloth was spread upon the floor. Andirons, shovel, and tongs gave evidence of the cheerful open wood fire. The other furniture

Chairs from the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames.
See page 109.

included a clock, a fire-screen, a pier-glass, two pairs of sconces with gilt frames, a pair of brass candlesticks, a mahogany tea chest, and two portraits,—King George and Queen Caroline.

In the hall were two sofas covered with leather, five leather chairs, a dining-table and three lanthorns. The floor was laid with canvas. At the head of the

stairs stood a tea-table, a lanthorn, and a painted wooden dog.

The principal bedroom was known as "the wainscot room." The prevailing hue was green. The bed was hung with green worsted curtains, and there were two green stools. The other furniture comprised a dressing-table and mirror, a pier-glass, mahogany stand, six black walnut chairs, two arm-chairs, an easy chair, a cabinet, andirons, tongs and shovel.

Next was the "west bedroom," and on the same floor the "tapestry room" hung with tapestry that had once been extremely fashionable but was now not much valued. The chairs here were of leather. On the same floor there was a front room used as a sitting-room. Here were two Dutch painted tea-tables, an old-fashioned pier-glass, fifteen cane seat chairs, pictures, china tea-cups, etc.

Going up-stairs, there was a "Blue Bedroom." Of course, the curtains of the bed and windows were blue. The furniture consisted of a "chest-upon-chest," six cane seat chairs, a dressing-table, a home-spun rug, a pier-glass, eight glazed pictures, and five India pictures.

Upon this floor were two other bedrooms: one, contained a bedstead with curtains, brass hearth-furniture, a looking-glass, four glass sconces, ten matted chairs, and some pieces of earthenware on the mantel-piece. In the other, in addition to the bedstead, were four matted chairs, a slate table, a square deal table, a small stand and five India pictures.

Of course, there were a garret and cellar, a wine-cellar, and an office or counting-room. In an exten-

sion were placed the kitchen and the apartments of the negro slaves. Farther away was the stable where were kept the horses, the chaise and the double and single sleigh.

A good idea of the luxurious furniture of New York in the middle of the Eighteenth Century may be gained by glancing at the will of Mrs. Alexander, widow of James Alexander, who died in 1760.

She bequeathed £5000 to her eldest son John, also "my late son David's picture which hangs in the great room above stairs:" to her son William, "my dwelling-house with the outhouses, ground, stables and appurtenances;" also "my largest and best carpet as also his father's and my picture." To her daughter Mary Livingston, "all my wearing apparel whatsoever, as linen, woollen, silk, gold and jewels of all kinds, . . . also my chaise called the Boston Chaise and the horse I have and keep at pasture."

To her daughter Elizabeth Stevens, the wife of John Stevens of New Jersey, £100 "to purchase furniture for a bed." To her daughter Catherine Parker, "16 crimson damask chairs, one dozen and four crimson damask window curtains, the looking-glass, the marble table that now are in the dining-room, the square tea-table with the china thereon in the blue and gold leather room, as also the one-half of all the china and glass in all the closets, the mahogany dining-table the next in size to the largest, the mahogany clothes chest, as also my wench called Venus and her two children Clarinda and Bristol, also my long silver salver, a silver tea-kettle and lamp, the chintz bed in the large back room with the feather bed,

bolster, pillows, bedstead and furniture, . . . my third best carpet and all my pictures not given to any other . . . also £100 to buy furniture for a bed."

To her youngest daughter Susannah, £1500; also "the two large looking-glasses and the two marble tables which are placed and stand under them, the eighteen chairs with green bottoms and the green window curtains . . . in the great Tapestry Room above stairs, . . . also three sconces suiting in the above-mentioned glasses and the twelve chairs with green bottoms which are in the little front parlour below stairs, also the looking glass and pictures that hang in the old parlour below, the green russell bed and window curtains, the green silk bed quilt, two blankets, one rug, the feather bed, two pillows, bolsters and bedstead belonging thereto. . . . also the chintz bed that stands in the little back room, with the bedstead, feather bed, two blankets, one rug, one quilt, two pillows and one bolster, the large Holland cupboard, the dressing-table and dressing-glass, twelve chairs with yellow bottoms, the five pair of window curtains, the square tea-table with white china upon it which are in the room hung with blue and gilt leather, my large mahogany table and three small mahogany tables, my second best carpet, one set of blue and white china dishes and plates for a table, also a tureen, eighteen pair of sheets, 36 pillow cases, 24 table cloths, 36 napkins, 24 pewter dishes, 60 pewter plates, four of my best kettles, four of my best iron pots, four saucepans, four pair of andirons, four pair of tongs and shovels, 24 ivory handled knives, 24 do. forks, also the other half part of all the china and

glass in all the closets of the house I live in also . . . my best silver tankard and two silver mugs, two pair of silver salt cellars, two sauce cups, 12 table spoons, one silver bowl, two silver tea cannisters, one sugar box, one milk pot, 12 teaspoons and a tea-tongs, one silver tea-kettle and chafing-dish, two small salvers belonging to the tea table furniture and my silver salver next to the largest." Her best horse and chaise

Mahogany dining-table, owned by Mrs. W. Sherwood Popham.
See page 111.

she gave to her daughters Catherine and Susannah equally. All other house linen was to be shared equally among her four daughters; all other plate among six children.

This was a very charming home. One room was evidently furnished in crimson damask and contained sixteen richly upholstered chairs; another room was hung with blue and gold leather; another, rich with

tapestry, contained eighteen chairs with green bottoms matching the curtains; and another was in yellow, if we may judge from the twelve chairs with yellow bottoms and five pairs of window curtains. These chairs, in all probability, were of walnut, or mahogany, with the carved wooden backs. Mrs. Alexander had also some handsome beds, notably the one draped with green, the material being a kind of flowered worsted damask known as russell. She had looking-glasses and sconces in glittering frames, marble tables, and a vast amount of china and plate. The large Holland cupboard, which was, of course, a *Kas*, shows that some of her furniture was old.

Mrs. Alexander was a striking instance of the fact that in New York the keeping of a shop in colonial days did not interfere with social position. She was a woman of much energy and enterprise, and for many years had actually imported and sold goods. She was a widow when she was married to James Alexander, who was a lawyer of wealth and distinction. Their son was educated in England and while abroad endeavoured to claim the title of the Earl of Stirling. Not recognized, he returned to America where he was always addressed as the Earl of Stirling. Having noted the contents of Mrs. Alexander's home, it may be interesting to read the following advertisement that appeared in 1761:

"To be sold at prime cost the shop goods of the late Mrs. Alexander, consisting of Broadcloths, Ratinets, Shalloons, Durants, Tammies, Worsted Hoses, Gold and Silver Lace, Silk for Women's Wear, Ribbons and China ware and a Variety of Other Goods at the House of the late Mrs. Alexander."

Covered jar and two beakers of Hizen ware ; owned by the Beekman family.

See page 121.

Furniture for the comfort of the children is frequently met with. We have seen that Mr. Lodge had a folding bed for his children. A child's rocking-chair and a leather-covered cradle appear on page 67. The latter bears the date 1734 in brass nails.

"Andrew Gautier, Windsor chairs." (1765.)

III

CABINET-MAKERS AND VENDUE SALES

The people of New York had every opportunity to furnish their homes handsomely. Ships brought each week the newest articles in furniture and ornament from London. Any one who had the means and took pride in living in the best taste could easily keep up with European fashions. The cabinet-makers and upholsterers were a numerous race. New artisans were constantly arriving. They had learned their trade from English cabinet-makers and were ready to make up "gentlemen's goods" at the shortest notice in accordance with the latest fashions.

Some of these cabinet-makers were undoubtedly experts; for instance, Mr. John Brinner, whose advertisement appears on page 97, was a master carver. He brought with him six artisans of ability. Any one who is familiar with Chippendale's *Gentleman's and Cabinet-Maker's Directory*, cannot fail to recognize the style of furniture that Mr. Brinner was able to make. We find him mentioning nearly every article that appears in Chippendale's book of designs, even to cases and shelves for china, furniture in Gothic and Chinese taste and the heavily draped field bedsteads.

We also find Mr. Joseph Cox making "ribband back," Gothic, and rail-back chairs, French elbow,

easy and corner chairs, canopy, festoon, and field-beds, burgairs, china-shelves and other articles that only a master-hand could produce.

By noting the advertisements of almost any cabinet-makers and upholsterers we can readily understand the kind of articles they made. For example, in 1750, we read :

"James Huthwaite and Stephen Callow, upholsterers from London living in the Bridge Street, near the Long Bridge makes all sorts of Beds, Settees, Chairs and Coaches after the newest Fashion; likewise stuffs Riding chairs and hangs Rooms with Paper and other things."

Stephen Callow "made Beds, Chairs, Settees, Suffoys, couches, and likewise hangs Rooms with stuff or Paper." In 1753, he advertises :

"Stephen Callow, upholsterer from London (near Oswego Market), makes all sorts of beds, chairs, settees, sofas, etc., and hangs rooms with paper or stuffs in the neatest manner. He has a choice assortment of paper hangings and upholsterers' goods at reasonable rates."

Other cabinet-makers dating from 1754 to 1767 included Robert Wallace, in Beaver Street ; Thomas Griggs, near the Gentlemen's Coffee House ; John Parsons, between the New and Fly Markets near his late master Joshua Delaplain ; Gilbert Ash, in Wall Street ; and Charles Shipman, near the Old Slip. These artisans made chairs, easy-chairs, close-stool chairs, settees, couches, all sorts of cabinets, scrutoires, desks, bookcases, chests-of-drawers, and tables of all kinds,—square, round, oval, plain, "scallopt," or "quadrile." Mr. Brinner, of whom we have already spoken, who arrived in 1762, evidently did more elab-

orate work. It is quite interesting to note, however, that there were numbers of workmen who did nothing but carve, and among these was Samuel Dwight, carver, who lived between the Ferry Stairs and Burling Slip and did "all kinds of work for cabinet-

Chippendale chairs (1750 and about 1740). Now in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames. See page 83.

makers,"—that is to say, he carved the furniture that they made.

In 1773, Willett and Pearsey, cabinet and chair-makers, were at the Sign of the Clothes Press, nearly opposite the Oswego Market, at the upper end of Maiden Lane, "where cabinet and chair work of every kind is punctually performed with the greatest neatness and care." They offered "three elegant desks and bookcases, chest-upon-chest of drawers, one

Lady's dressing-chest and bookcase, three desks and one pair of card-tables, two sets of chairs, three dining-tables, five breakfast tables, one clock-case furnished with a good plain eight day clock, sundry stands, etc."

In 1775, Samuel Prince, cabinet-maker, at the Sign of the Chest-of-Drawers, in William Street, near the North Church in New York, made and sold all sorts of cabinet-work in the neatest manner and on the lowest terms. Orders for the West Indies and elsewhere were "compleated on the shortest notice." He had on hand for sale "a parcel of the most elegant furniture made of mahogany of the very best quality, such as chest-of-drawers, chest-upon-chest, cloath-presses, desks, desks and bookcases of different sorts, chairs of many different and new patterns, beuro tables, dining-tables, card-tables, breakfast-tables, tea-tables and many other sorts of cabinet work very cheap."

The two most fashionable upholsterers were George Richey and Joseph Cox. The former had a shop in 1759 opposite the Merchants' Coffee House, but in 1770 he was at The Sign of the Crown and Tossel opposite the Old Slip Pump. During these years he kept up with the latest London fashions and made beds, chairs and easy-chairs, couch-beds, settees, sofas, and French chairs. He festooned window-curtains "according to the latest style, as practised in London," and was always receiving from abroad paper-hangings "in the newest taste." In 1770, he made mattresses fit for sea or land and "lines and tossels to answer furniture of any colour, at the shortest notice."

Joseph Cox was also from London and had The Royal Bed for his sign. This hung out in Dock Street and afterwards in Wall Street. He made exactly the same articles as his rival, and in 1771, put up "all sorts of Tapestry, Velvet, Silk and paper-hangings in the neatest manner." He kept a fine assortment of "lines and tossels for beds and window curtains of different colours;" and, in 1773, offered "lines and a few very handsome balance tossels for hall lanthorns," as well as a "large assortment of bed laces, amongst which is some white cotton bed lace of a new manufactory and white fringes for ditto." In this year he advertised that he "makes all sorts of canopy, festoon, field and tent beadsteads and furniture; also every sort of drapery, window curtains, likewise sopha, settees, couches, burgairs, French elbow, easy and corner chairs; back stools, mewses, ribband back, Gothic and rail back chairs; ladies' and gentlemen's desk and book-cases, cabinets, chest-of-drawers, commode dressing and toilet-tables, writing, reading sideboard, card and night ditto; clothes presses and chests, china shelves, ecoinures, fire screens, voiders, brackets for lustres and busts, with every other article in the business."

Two styles of chairs that were fashionable throughout the period appear on page 81. These are designs that Chippendale was fond of making, and there is every reason to suppose that the New York cabinet-makers produced them in large numbers.

Apart from the efforts of the cabinet-makers and upholsterers, the merchants and importers to supply the New Yorkers with fashionable furniture and other

luxuries and comforts, there was still another means by which the homes of the period could be richly stocked with choice articles. Many opportunities were afforded by the public vendue, or auction. Households broke up then as suddenly as now; death sometimes removed the head of the family, but more often the British officers and those in authority were transferred to other stations and preferred to sell their household effects rather than to carry them home or move them.

Many English residents who came to America as an experiment wearied of their experiences, and before returning home sold out the contents of the house that they had taken such pains to furnish. When one remembers the custom that English people have of taking such a vast number of belongings into the wilds, it will not require much imagination to believe that when they came to New York (a comparatively easy journey), they did not hesitate to transport a ship-load of articles. Of course the Governor surrounded himself with every luxury, and at the beginning of our period, upon the death of Gov. Montgomerie, we find all his goods offered for sale at public vendue at Fort George. It may be interesting to see what kind of things he considered necessary to his comfort and pleasure, and what handsome articles New Yorkers were able to secure as early as 1731. The list reads:

"A fine new yellow Camblet Bed lined with silk and laced which came from London with Captain Downing with the Bedding. One fine Field Bedstead and Curtains. Some blew Cloth lately come from London for Liveries; and some white

Drap cloth with proper Trimming. Some broad Gold Lace. A very fine Medicine Chest with great variety of valuable Medicines. A parcel of Sweetmeat and Jelly Glasses. A Case with Twelve Knives and Twelve Forks with silver handles guilded. Some good Barbados Rum. A considerable Quantity of Cytorn Water. A Flack with fine Jessamine Oyl. A fine Jack with Chain and Pullies, etc. A large fixt Copper Boyling Pot. A large Iron Fire-place. Iron Bar and Doors for a Copper. A large lined Fire Skreen. And several other Things. All to be seen at the Fort.

Mahogany table, owned by Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis. See page 112.

"And also at the same Time and Place there will be sold One Gold Watch of Mr. Tompkins make and one silver Watch. Two Demi-Peak Saddles, one with blew Cloth Laced with gold and the other Plain Furniture. One Pair of fine Pistols. A fine Fuzee mounted with Silver and one long Fowling-Piece."

Some time later we read: "At New York on Thursday, the 1st of June, at three o'clock in the Afternoon will begin to be Sold at Public Auction, a Collection of valuable Books, being the Library of his Excellency John Montgomerie, Esq., late Governour of New York, etc., deceased. A Catalogue of

the Books may be seen at the Coffee House in New York with the Conditions of Sale." In August were offered "several fine Saddle Horses, Breeding Mares and Colts, Coach-Horses and Harness, and several other things belonging to the Estate of his late Excellency Governor Montgomerie;" and on Monday the 2d of October "about Noon, at the Exchange Coffee House will be exposed to Sale at Publick Vendue, a large fine Barge with Awning and Damask Curtains; Two Sets of Oars, Sails, and everything that is necessary for her. She now lies in the Dock and did belong to the late Governour Montgomerie."

The negroes, plate, and furniture of the late Hon. Rip Van Dam, Esq., offered for sale in 1749, show that the choice goods of another governor were scattered among New York houses, while in 1754 at public vendue at the Fort were sold "sundry goods and effects belonging to Sir Danvers Osborne, Bart.," —the ill-fated governor who committed suicide soon after his arrival. These included "beds, bedding, household furniture, kitchen furniture, pewter, turnery, china-ware, a coach and harness, linen, two gold watches, some old hock, etc., etc."

The furniture, plate, coaches and horses belonging to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Loudoun, also sold at auction at Fort George in 1758, gave the residents another opportunity of securing valuable possessions. Captain George Douglas, Captain Thomas Seymour, Sir Charles Hardy, Captain Plenderleath, Captain Benjamin Davies, and the Hon. Major Carey are among those who sold out their household goods when they were transferred to other stations, or were

about to return to England. In addition to his mahogany furniture, Captain Benjamin Davies offered for sale in 1775, "a fine chamber organ and a spinet."

Sometimes there were sales of objects of art. For example, in 1771, the following pictures:

"A large kitchen with dead game, Snyders; Its companion, do., A storm, capital, Backhousen; A Calm, Wright; A conversation, Hemskirk; Its companion; A Landskip, Flemish; A View in Flanders, Brughel; Its companion; A Fruit Piece with a Mackaw, Vander Moulen, together with three pairs of most elegant vases for ladies toilet or dressing-rooms, ornamented in the highest taste."

"Thomas Burling, cabinet-maker." (1774.)

IV

WALLS, PICTURES AND LOOKING-GLASSES

At the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, the walls of houses were usually panelled, painted or whitewashed. In the homes of the rich, tapestry and gilt leather hangings were found. When Kalm visited New York in 1748, he noticed that the rooms were wainscotted; that the woodwork was generally painted a bluish grey; and that the people seemed to be slightly acquainted with hangings. Two years later, wall-paper was imported in such quantities that we may feel safe in assuming it was as generally employed here as in England. In 1749, Isaac Ware noted that "Paper has in a great measure taken the place of sculpture." Furthermore, he says: "The decoration of the inside of rooms may be reduced to three kinds: first, those in which the wall itself is properly finished, for elegance, that is where the materials of its last covering are of the finest kind, and is wrought into ornaments, plain or uncovered; secondly, where the walls are covered with wainscot; and thirdly, where they are hung; this last article comprehending paper, silk, tapestry and every other decoration of this kind."

He might just as well have written this after an examination of interiors in New York. In the middle of the century, these three forms of finishing

walls were found, but the latter was growing in popularity. In 1749, Stephen Callow "hangs Rooms with Paper or Stuff in the newest Fashion;" James Huthwaite also "hangs Rooms with Paper and other Things," in 1750; and, in 1756, John Hickey "stamps or prints paper in the English manner and hangs it so as to harbour no worms."

Wall-paper from an old house in Cazenovia; in the Museum for the Art of Decoration, Cooper Union.

Among the varieties of paper that are imported, we find stained paper for hangings, 1750; flowered paper, 1751; stamped paper for living-rooms, 1754; stucco paper for ceilings, 1760; gilt leather, 1760; and gilt paper hangings, 1765. There was also a paper with landscape views, and paper composed of pictures of the Seasons, or shepherdesses, or emblematical figures, framed in the rococo style of Louis XV. Another style, towards the end of our period, was drawn from the Classic ornamentation that the Adam brothers had made fashionable in England. A specimen of the latter appears on this page.

Generally speaking, walls were hung with pictures painted on glass, mezzotints, and engravings. Occa-

sionally portraits were found, and in many of the houses of New York were oils that to-day would be priceless. In the inventories, quite often, a "landskip," a sea-piece, a "small winter," a "break of day," a "bunch of grapes," "a cobbler," "a plucked cock torn," an "Abraham and Hagar," a "sea strand," a "ship," "ye city of Amsterdam," suggest good Dutch art, not specially valued in that day, but commanding fancy figures now.

The fashionable pictures came from England. It may be worth while to examine the importations, remembering that Duyckinck, Rivington and Garret Noel and Company, were the chief dealers. The *Success* brought pictures on glass with gilt frames, in 1749, in which year, G. Duyckinck had "a very good assortment of Glass Pictures, Paintings on Glass, Prospective History Pieces, Sea and Landskips, a large assortment of large Entry and Stair-case Pieces ready framed, Maps of the World and in four parts, London, all on Rollers ready for hanging, Prints of divers sorts, Prints ready coloured for japanning, also a very good assortment of Limner's and Japanese colours with gold leaf and Japanner's gold dust, Silver leaf and Silver dust."

The *Neptune* brought in pictures burnt on glass in 1750; "metzotintoes burnt on glass" in 1750; "a large assortment of maps, metzotinto and copper plate prints," in 1757; mezzotints, Japanned, prospect and common prints, and "pictures of India birds and many fancies," 1759. The *Jupiter* brought India pictures in 1759; "pictures of the present King and Queen, Mr. Pitt, the Marquis of Granby; and

the never-to-be forgotten Gen. Wolfe, who sold his life dear to the French on the Plains of Abraham at Quebec the 13th of September," 1762. The *Westmoreland* brought "portraits of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Seckes, Rev. Mr. Sterne, Lady Waldegrave and her child, Garrick in tragedy and comedy, metsotinto prints of Garrick and Mrs. Cibber in Jaffer and Belvidera, six very fine prints of Kew Gardens," in 1764.

John J. Roosevelt imported from England and sold at his store in Maiden Lane in 1772, "an elegant variety of pictures, one print in particular (with a very handsome frame of glass) of Regulus opposing the entreaties of the Roman Senate, importuning him not to return to Carthage. Price £14. This piece, the death of Gen. Wolfe and several others were copied from the original paintings of the celebrated Mr. West of Philadelphia." We also find advertisements that are occasionally illuminating, such as one for 1759, as follows:

"Lately published in England and to be sold by Garret Noel and Company, near the Meal Market, the celebrated Mr. Strange's very elegant Prints, consisting of Le Retour du Marche, a Cupid, a Magdalena, a Cleopatra, a Headpiece from the Painting of Guido Rheni, a Virgin Martyr from ditto, Liberality and Modesty from ditto, Apollo Rewarding Merit and Punishing Arrogance, Cæsar putting away Pompey, and Charles Prince of Wales, James Duke of York, and Princess Mary, Children of Charles I.th. These surprising Pieces are bound up in Boards to preserve them, but may be taken out and put in Frames. Likewise, the Heads of Illustrious Persons of great Britain, on 180 Copper Plates, engraved by Mr. Houbraken and Mr. Virtue, with their Lives and Characters by Thomas Birch, D. D., Secretary to the Royal Society. Done

upon Imperial Paper and Curiously Bound. N. B. Gentlemen of Taste that are willing to purchase either of these much esteemed curiosities are desired to apply in time, as there are but very few Copies to dispose of."

Another, dating from 1760, gives a good idea of popular subjects. James Rivington of Hanover Square, had "just imported a very fine collection of Pictures of various sorts, consisting of the Heads of all the principal persons who daily distinguish themselves by their Virtues at Home or Victories abroad; of very elegant Views, Landscapes, Maps and Charts, Horses, Birds, Hunting-Pieces, Prospects of London, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Peterborough, elegant Buildings in Poland, Prussia, the East Indies, Madrid, Lisbon, Bristol, Edinburgh, Rome, Palmyra and Athens; a complete Sett of the celebrated Beauties of Hampton Court, the Harlot's Progress, Hemkirk's Humorous Pictures, Monamy's famous Sea Pieces, Pictures for Watches, Copies to teach to Write the Round Text, the large and Small Round Hands, Black Lines, Letter Files, etc."

The feature of the room that struck Madame Knight most forcibly, when she visited New York in 1707, was the impressive fireplace with its deep hearth framed with tiles. This was generally about five feet square, and behind the fireplace was a large cast-iron and ornamented back. Sometimes they were plain, but more frequently were decorated with, perhaps, the arms of the owner, or figures, flowers, or conventional device. In 1751, we read: "Stolen out of a house rebuilding on Bever Street a small Iron Chimney back with the figure of a Parrot in a Ring on it."

China originally owned by William Denning; now by Mrs. W. W. Shippen.

See page 127

Peter Curtenius had "some plain and figured chimney backs" in 1769.

The mantel-piece was frequently carved, as in the accompanying example owned by the New York Historical Society. It came from the Beekman House.

Tiles gave a very gay appearance to the chimney-piece. They were almost always in strong colours and the pictures were scriptural, historical, or landscape views. They were in white, green, yellow, red, blue, or purple. Marble chimney-pieces and marble hearths were also to be met with, and sometimes these were finished with a brass border. James Byers, brass founder, in South Street, said in 1768, that he could make "brass mouldings to cover the edges of marble or tiled fireplaces." Once in a while, some one liked to ornament his chimney-piece, like his ceiling, with stucco-work, which Mr. Bernard Lintot was able to supply in 1760.

Drawing-room mantel. From the Beekman house, Turtle Bay.

From the above, it will be seen that the great logs burning and crackling in their frame-work of

carving, gay tiles and brass andirons and fender contributed not a little to the charm of rooms.

Although the wood fire was universal all through the period, coals also were used. "Very good sea-coal" was advertised by Nicholas Bayard as early as 1744, in which year "the newly invented Pennsylvania fireplaces" were attracting some householders, and a little before that date Franklin had invented his famous stove; and Christopher Sauer, his German device. Steel hearths and stove grates came in about 1751, and in 1752 Rip Van Dam had for sale "a large iron hearth plate with brass feet and handles." Cast-iron stoves, round and square, were also in use.

"Dutch and English fashion stoves" and "brass mounted grates with shovel and tongs" appeared in 1767; and "elegant grates, or Bath stoves, for burning coals" in 1768. Now that coals were used, the poker became a necessary addition to the equipment of the hearth. "A copper furnace and grate" was advertised in 1751.

It was not until the middle of the century that carpets became general. The word had long been used as a covering for tables, and even as late as 1771 we find an advertisement of "bedside and table carpets," showing that it was still associated with a piece of furniture. Painted canvas and haircloth were used for a long time. The latter was particularly admired for staircases and entries. It must have been the same as that used for upholstering, since Bernard Lintot imported from London in 1764 "haircloth for chair seats and staircases." Haircloth for stairs had been popular since 1750. From about 1757,

"rich, beautiful Turkey fashion carpets," as well as Persian, Scotch and Wilton, were imported in great profusion, and in 1771, Axminster appeared. The carpet was kept down on the stairs by means of brass rods.

In a period in which Chippendale and his school flourished, it is not to be wondered at that the chimney-piece, the mirror, the cornice, the bracket, the sconce and the girandole should have been of the utmost importance. At the beginning of the century, the Dutch style of carving was in vogue; and under the Georges, the carving, naturally enough, conformed to the tastes that had been formed by Grinling Gibbons and his school. Hence it is safe to believe that New York had long supported good carvers. During the Georgian age, they flocked here in great numbers; and we find many cabinet-makers who were also carvers, like Chippendale. One of these was John Brinner. He advertised himself as a "Cabinet and chair-maker from London," establishing himself at the Sign of the Chair, opposite Flatten Barrack Hill in the Broad-Way, his announcement reading:

Chippendale mirror (mahogany with gilded bird), owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth. See page 98.

"Every article in the Cabinet, Chair-Making, Carving and Gilding Business, is enacted on the most reasonable Terms, with the Utmost Neatness and Punctuality. He carves all sorts of Architectural, Gothic and Chinese Chimney Pieces, Glass and Picture Frames, Slab Frames, Girondels, Chandeliers, and all kinds of Mouldings and Frontispieces, etc., etc. Desk and Book Cases, Library Book Cases, Writing and Reading-Tables, Study Tables, China Shelves and Cases, Commode and Plain Chest of Drawers, Gothic and Chinese Chairs; all sorts of plain or ornamental Chairs, Sofa Beds, Sofa Settees, Couch and Easy Chairs, Frames, all kinds of Field Bedsteads. N. B. He has brought over from London six Artificers, well skill'd in the above branches."

In an age of carving and gilding, the mirror received its share of attention. No one who studies the newspapers carefully can fail to note how important it was to discard an old-fashioned frame, or even shape, for the newest style of looking-glass that London had adopted. Towards the end of 1730, we read:

"James Foddy, Citizen and Glass-seller of London, who arrived here the latter end of last June, and brought with him a parcel of very fine Looking-glasses of all Sorts, and likewise appeared several times in this Paper, to acquaint the Publick that he undertook to alter and amend Old Looking-glasses; but he not meeting with suitable Encouragement, is shortly destined for the West Indies. All Persons therefore who are inclin'd to have their Glasses repair'd, or buy new, may apply to the said James Foddy at Mr. Verplanck's in New York."

By 1735, there were some new styles. Mr. Duyckinck informed the public that he had

"Looking-glasses new silvered and the Frames plaine Japan'd or Flowered, also all sorts of Picktures made and sold, all manner of painting work done. Likewise Looking-glasses and all sorts of painting Coullers and Oyl sold at reasonable Rates by Girardus Duyckinck, at the Sign of the Two Cupids, near the Old Slip Market.

"N. B. Where you may have ready Money for old Looking-Glasses."

Looking-glasses, of course, included the large glass that so frequently ornamented the chimney-piece, the tall pier-glass whose place was between the windows, and the concave and convex mirrors with sconces for candles that were hung upon the walls. Frequently the frames of these were richly carved and gilded, and from the candlesticks hung glittering drops of glass, known as girandoles. Mahogany and black walnut were also used for frames, and a mahogany or walnut frame, brightened with gilt edges and adorned with some carved and gilded ornament, was also popular. One of the latter appears on page 96; and another on page 324. The former is ornamented with a gilded bird,—one of Chippendale's favourite designs. This belongs to Mrs. F. H. Bosworth. The second, now belonging to Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox, was originally owned by Rutger Bleecker.

In 1769, one Minshall, carver and gilder, from London, lived in Dock Street, opposite Bolton and Sigell's Tavern, where he had "carved frames for glasses, picture frames, tables, chairs, girondoles, chimney-pieces, brackets, candlestands, clock and watch cases, bed and window cornicing. He makes Paper ornaments for Ceilings and Stair-cases in the present mode." In the same year Nicholas Bernard, carver, advertised:

"A neat assortment of Looking-glasses in the most elegant and newest Fashions, with carved, and carved and gilt frames, do. pediments and plain mahogany and walnut, also Dressing-

glasses, Girondelles, Chimney-Pieces, Figures of Plaster of Paris, and Paper Machine for Ceilings; the King's Coat-of-Arms neatly carved, fit for Church or public Building."

In 1775, the above Minshall, who for some time had had a Looking-Glass Store, removed it from Smith Street to Hanover Square (opposite Mr. Goelet's Sign of the Golden Key), and told his customers that he had "an elegant assortment of looking-glasses in oval and square ornamental frames." He also had some in mahogany frames and "the greatest variety of girandoles ever imported to this city." He had "an elegant assortment of frames without glass" and "any Lady or Gentleman that have glass in old-fashioned frames may have them cut to ovals, or put in any pattern that pleases them best." The frames could be finished "white, or green and white, purple, or any other colour that suits the furniture of the room, or gilt in oil or burnished gold equal to the best imported." An Apprentice was wanted "to learn the above art of Carving and Gilding; none need apply but those who have a lad of sober and promising genius and are willing to give a premium."

The following partial list of importations may be of interest to illustrate the large general demand for mirrors: Gilt and plain looking-glasses and sconces of sundry sizes, in 1745; "a parcel of very fine large and small looking-glasses," 1747; japanned dressing-glasses, 1748; new fashion sconces and looking-glasses, 1749; looking-glass sconces, 1750; gilt and plain looking-glasses of sundry sizes, 1751; a choice assortment of very handsome looking-glasses, sconces and pier glasses of all sizes, 1752; a neat

Iron tea tray decorated with oil painting in imitation of Joseph Vernet; in the Museum for the Art of Decoration, Cooper Union. See page 113.

assortment of sconces gilt and carved in the newest fashions, 1753; ladies fine dressing gilt looking-glasses and small pocket ditto, 1755; "peer" and sconce looking-glasses, 1757; newest fashioned looking-glasses from London, 1757; a variety of sconces with branches in walnut frames with gilt edges, 1757; neat dressing-glasses for ladies with gilt frames, 1757; a raree-show of looking-glasses, 1758; a few handsome sconces, 1758; looking-glasses, pier and sconce, plain and gilt frames, 1758; camp looking-glasses, 1759; walnut framed looking-glasses, 1759; a good assortment of small black walnut frame and japanned looking-glasses, 1758; a large and neat assortment of dressing-sconces and looking-glasses, 1759; a very fine assortment of looking-glasses and sconces, their frames in the most genteel and richest taste, 1760; a quantity of Indian and Guinea looking-glasses, 1761; French pocket looking-glasses, 1761; looking-glasses framed in the newest taste £8 to £30 a piece, 1761; a new and large assortment of looking-glasses, sconces and dressing-glasses, 1761; looking-glasses from 2 to 6 feet, 1764; "the largest and most curious collection of plain and ornamented looking-glasses and pictures ever imported to America," 1764; convex and concave mirrors, 1764; two carved white-framed sconce glasses, 1764; handsome pier glass and two sconces with gilt frame, 1768; large pier glass in an elegant carved frame, 1769; looking-glasses from 2 shillings to £10, 1771; painted frame looking-glasses, 1773; oval sconces with gilt frames, 1773; oval glasses, pier glasses and sconces in burnished gold, glass bordered, mahogany and black walnut frames with

gilt ornaments of all sizes, likewise elegant girandoles, 1774.

People prized these articles very highly, as will be seen from the following advertisement in 1775:

"Stolen in the night of the 5th inst. out of the house of Robert Murray, at Inklinbergh, a Looking-Glass, three feet and a half long and twenty inches broad, set in a mahogany frame with a narrow gilt edge. Whoever brings the said glass to the owner, shall have Forty Shillings as a reward: and if the thief be taken and convicted, a further sum of Eight Pounds by Robert Murray."

A square or round lantern always hung in the hall or entry, and sometimes a second one was repeated at the landing. There were also glass lamps and chamber lamps, and lamps for sick persons.

The King's Arms. (1767.)

V

BEDS, CHAIRS, TABLES AND CLOCKS

The bed was, of course, the most important piece of furniture in the bedroom. Almost invariably, it was a tall and wide four-poster of mahogany, more or less richly carved. But the framework, handsome as it might be, and even if crowned by a carved tester, was comparatively unimportant when the furnishings are remembered. A large feather bed, weighing many pounds and stuffed with the softest feathers, rested upon a simple arrangement of bed-cords, or a "sacking-bottom,"—a kind of heavy sail-cloth from which the word "bed-bunt" was probably derived. "Bed-bunts" were imported and were usually 6×4 ft. and 9×4 ft., which shows the average size of the bed.

The sheeting usually came from Holland, and was known as "ozenbrigs;" the blankets were "striped," "rose," or "swanskin;" and the spreads, or "sprees," early in the century were "white cotton bed carpets," but they were supplanted later by "white flowered counterpains." Marseilles quilts came in about 1772. India chintz counterpanes were also used in 1768, and scarlet, blue, flowered, and black figured "drawboys" in 1771. A silk quilt, or a Turkey quilt, was usually folded neatly and laid across the foot of the bed. The bolster and pillows, stuffed with softest feathers,

were encased in white linen, and everything about the bed invited repose.

The true glory of the bed, however, was its hangings. Not infrequently, they were very luxurious in

Chair and double corner-chair ; in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames. See page 109.

texture and rich in colour. A "yellow silk damask bed," a "yellow camlet laced," a "crimson harrateen," a "green russell," a "crimson moreen," a "flowered russell," a "blue and green flowered russell," or "a green silk and worsted damask," was generally to be met with in the richest homes. Some-

times the curtains were altogether of silk damask; sometimes, of worsted damask lined with silk; sometimes a mixture of each; and sometimes of purely woollen goods.

Occasionally, these curtains were ornamented with "silk bed lace," or fringe, or gimp, or "snail trimming," a kind of braid arranged in symmetrical rolled-up patterns, that was exceedingly popular with the upholsterers of the day, who were called upon to arrange the festoons and rosettes, lines and tassels, according to the latest advices from London. The curtains at the windows always matched the bed-hangings, and gave the room its designation of "the yellow room," "the blue room," "the red room," or "the green room." In summer, these rich hangings were removed, and the beds were draped in white, or supplied with mosquito netting, or "catgut gauze."

In some of the rooms, the beds were simpler, such as, for example, the one seen in the illustration on page 23, showing an excellent bedroom of the period, from the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames at Van Cortlandt. The simpler bedsteads were of maple or walnut, instead of mahogany, and perhaps, indeed, of pine or white-wood, stained or painted. These were hung with coloured calico curtains, like the one referred to, bright-hued or flowered chintz, or figured dimity. Ships were constantly bringing over such varieties of attractive English and India chintzes, and calicoes of such multitudinous colours and patterns, with "lines and tossels to match," that we can readily believe the bedrooms

were anything but monotonous in colour and effect, even if the same arrangement of furniture was to be found in every home.

About 1770, a new style of bed and window curtain was introduced from England,—"copper plate and pencilled furniture" in red and white, blue and white, purple and white, green and white, etc., etc., so called from the pictures that were printed upon it, very similar to those upon the "pencilled china" that came into vogue about the same time. About 1761, mattresses stuffed with hair were offered for sale, but these did not, by any means, supplant in favour the feather bed and "sacking-bottom."

By the side, or at the foot of the bed, stood the bed-steps. At the other side, a small table with a candlestick was always to be found in a comfortable bedroom. In the early part of the century, a strip of carpet, called "a bedside carpet," to distinguish it from the carpet upon the bed (for the word carpet had not lost its first meaning), was placed beside the bed, but as the years advanced, rugs were more plentiful and a carpet frequently covered the entire floor. The bed was often covered with a spread, and the dressing-table with a "toilet" made by the ladies of the house.

The bedstead generally stood opposite the open fireplace, where the logs burned brightly upon brass andirons, guarded by a fender and supplied with shovel, tongs and bellows. A mahogany case-of-drawers standing upon its high cabriole legs and garnished with brass escutcheons and handles, and a small case-of-drawers, also bright with brass mounts,

were conspicuous objects. Above the latter hung a dressing-glass. Perhaps there was also a large chest-upon-chest of drawers, or an old mahogany *kas*, or wardrobe, a "bureau table," a wash-stand, and almost always two or three small tables, upon one of which a set of tea-things stood ready for use. Sometimes were to be seen a "couch and squab" and a "lolling-chair" for further comfort, and very often a "scrutore," or large secretary.

The room was profusely ornamented with china. China vases and curious images decorated the chimney-piece and appeared on the top of the chest-upon-chest, or the tall case-of-drawers, provided the latter was not finished with the favourite scroll or "swan-neck" sweeps. Even then, in the centre from which they sprang, a small china vase, or other ornament was placed. A screen and a number of chairs completed the furniture. The latter might consist of a set of mahogany, including two arm-chairs, the seats matching the bed and window curtains, or they might be of cheaper wood with plain splat backs and rush seats, ordinary walnut frame and leather-bottom chairs, or of the cabriole leg with ball-and-claw foot and embowed back, the seat being of Turkey-work, worsted damask, or hair. Again, the chairs might have cane, or matted seats.

Next in importance to the bed in the up-stairs apartments were the high and low cases-of-drawers, popularly, but erroneously known to-day as the "high boy" and "low boy." These consisted of a series of drawers that stood on a frame composed of spindle-shaped legs connected by a straining-rail or stretcher,

as shown in the example from the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames on page 57, or standing on the springing cabriole leg ending in the plain hoof, or the more ornate claw-and-ball foot. The former kind that stood on a frame of six legs generally had a square top; the latter variety frequently terminated in a scroll top. In addition to these pieces of furniture, there was the chest-of-drawers and the chest-upon-chest, of which an example in French walnut is here represented. This belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Augustus Van Horne (the latter a daughter of Frederick Van Cortlandt and Frances Jay), married in 1765. It is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Clarkson of New York, having descended to them through the Jay family. The brass escutcheons and handles on these pieces of furniture were impor-

Chest-upon-chest, originally owned by Mr. and Mrs. Augustus Van Horne; now by Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Clarkson.

tant additions, and varied from simple drop-handles to patterns that were quite elaborate.

In the early part of the century, the chairs were of leather (one variety of which is shown on page 54), cane, and matted. The latter was popular about 1700, and was often of the kind represented on the same page. We also find in the early homes elbow chairs and easy chairs covered with red plush, or silk, or damask. About 1725, and onward, the walnut or mahogany chair with the claw-and-ball foot, was constantly used. This chair invariably came in sets, including two chairs with arms. The covers of the seats were of red leather, Turkey-work, silk, silk or worsted damask, the favourite colours being red, green and yellow. Types of these chairs appear on page 71.

In 1760, haircloth for chair-seating was imported. It continued long in fashion. Sometimes it was figured, and sometimes coloured. In 1765, Joseph Cox advertised "a variety of beautiful black horsehair for chair bottoms, such as are in the greatest vogue at home" (home being London); in 1771, "figured horsehair for chair bottoms;" and in 1772, "patterns of horsehair for chair bottoms."

Figured calico, chintz and copper-plate materials were used for furniture coverings and draperies towards the end of our period, especially in bedrooms.

With sets of chairs, the double chair, or settee, was often included. This was formed of two chair backs placed side by side and carved or perforated to match the single chairs. The "corner chair" that Joseph Cox made in 1773 was of the variety shown

on page 104. This one is ornamented with a double back. The stuffed chair was often in use. Sometimes it was referred to as the "French" chair. The "burgair" chair, also in Cox's list, was an upholstered chair of special design.

The stuffed sofa gained in popularity. It was frequently draped in the most elaborate style with festoons caught in waves and swags, and fastened at regular intervals by a rosette. Sometimes it had a canopy carved in the Gothic or Chinese taste, and sometimes it was made to fit into an alcove and become a kind of couch-bed with curtains that were drawn into their symmetrical position by means of cords and tassels that connected with pullies. Chippendale was especially fond of fringe, cords and tassels for his sofas and beds, and for his ornate pieces recommends gold cords and tassels.

Before the middle of the century, the Windsor chair had become popular. An example is shown to the left of the bed, in the room on page 23. The Windsor chair was of various kinds and was painted in different colours. Many chair-makers devoted their energies solely to this kind of chair. The following advertisement of 1769 gives an idea of the industry:

"A large and neat Assortment of Windsor Chairs made in the best and neatest manner, and well-painted, viz., High-back'd, low back'd, and Sack backed Chairs and Settees or double seated fit for Piazza or Gardens, Children's Dining and low chairs, etc. To be sold by Jonathan Hampton in Chapel Street, New York, opposite Captain Andrew Law's."

The "scrutore," *escritoire*, or secretary, was found in both drawing-room and bedroom. It was often a

combination bookcase and desk, the upper portion being enclosed by doors with panes of glass. Two specimens appear on pages 291 and 10. The former is said to have come from Holland, but it is similar in character to many that Chippendale included among his designs. This belonged originally to Ryck Suydam (1675–1741) supervisor of Flatbush, L. I. and is now owned by his descendant, Mrs. Henry Draper of New York. The second is also of mahogany and is of the "Gothic Style" of the day. This belonged to Thomas Barrow, and was brought by him to New York in 1764. It is now owned by a descendant. Another form of desk was a simple chest-of-drawers with a flap which, when let down, formed the table for writing.

In every home was a number of tables; in many cases, the rooms contained several devoted to different uses. The dining-table was of mahogany. The oak drawing-table had long been out of fashion, and the extension table with its additional leaves had not yet been introduced, so that when more room was desired, tables were added to the central one. These tables all had drop leaves supported upon a movable leg. A good specimen is illustrated on page 75. The straight leg ends in a ball-and-claw foot. This now belongs to Mrs. W. Sherwood Popham of New York. Nearly every house had its card-tables which were usually of walnut or mahogany, like the specimen shown on page 326, or of an older design with cabriole leg and ball-and-claw foot. The tea-table was of the utmost importance: it was of mahogany, painted, or japanned, or of walnut. Almost invariably, it re-

volved and could be made to tip as well as turn, and sometimes, when not in use, stood in the room in the position of the one shown on page 85. Of the three varieties of tea-tables, the one on page 312 was the older in design, as the "snake-foot" proclaims. The one on page 114 is more delicate in form and not only has the ball-and-claw foot but the acanthus carved upon the tripod legs. The third on page 85, is a more elaborate specimen and its large top is cut out of a solid piece of wood. The first belongs to the Barrow family; the second, to Mrs. W. W. Shippen of New York; the third, was originally owned by Col. and Mrs. John Cox of Bloomsbury, Trenton, but now belongs to Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis of Hoboken, N. J.

A small mahogany stand, or table, was usually placed by the side of the bed, as shown on page 23. Previous to the advent of Heppelwhite, the sideboard in the dining-room was a long table with square ends. Chippendale, in his book of designs, does not give a single example of the sideboard as we know it to-day, nor is such a piece of furniture found among the plates of Darly, or Ince and Mayhew. The "sideboard table" that Chippendale recommends often has its framework richly carved in Gothic, or Chinese style. Therefore, when we are told that so many tables were in the dining-room, we are not wrong if we call one of them "a sideboard table."

The tea-table was present in every room. The number of articles used in the service of tea was considerable. Mahogany tea-boards (little tables), tea-chests, cannisters, lamps, kettles and nests of ket-

tles, kettles with lamps, tea-tongs, sugar-cleavers, sugar-tongs, spoons, urns, tea-trays, etc., etc., of all varieties appear again and again. The tea-kettle stand was also important, and the tea-tray was of many kinds and sizes. It was frequently of mahogany with a carved rim in the Chinese or Gothic taste; but hardly less popular was the tray that was painted and japanned. We give two of these: the one on page 321 dates from the beginning of our period; the second, on page 100, from towards the end. Like the painted and japanned tea-table, it was always a favourite. The former is said to have been brought to America in 1686. It is now in the Museum of the Colonial Dames at Van Cortlandt. The picture upon it is a landscape. The second, is a more beautiful example and is decorated with a charming oil painting after Joseph Vernet. It is now in the Museum for the Art of Decoration at the Cooper Union, New York. Tea-trays and waiters "of the newest fashion with landscapes" were still coming in in 1781.

Japanned-ware was popular throughout the Eighteenth Century. It was not only used for tea-trays, tea-kitchens, tea-tables, cannisters, sugar-boxes, and knife-cases, but for dressing-tables, clock-cases, chairs and every other style of furniture. As early as 1734, we find "eight-day clocks with japan cases" offered for sale by John Bell, and, as late as 1771, Stephen Gueubel of Wall Street announced to the "nobility and gentry" that he had "just arrived in this city" and had for sale "a quantity of beautiful furniture elegantly painted and varnished in the *Japan taste*" and had "some complete toilets." He also under-

took to "paint coaches and chairs in the same manner."

In 1772, Jane Wilson in the Fly Market offered a "great variety of beautiful japanned goods with cream

Walnut chair and mahogany tea-table, owned by Mrs. W. W. Shippen.
See page 112.

coloured grounds and other colours of the newest taste." Her wares included tea-tables, tea-chests with cannisters, tea-trays, bread-baskets and inkstands; and she also had "some white japanned clock-faces, which have the appearance of enamelled watch-plates." Al-

though there were many watch and clock-makers in New York, the ships constantly brought clocks and clock-cases to New York. The tall clock with its brass dial, frequently embellished with the changes of the moon, and occasionally equipped with machinery for telling the tides, was the favourite. Bracket and pedestal clocks were also in use; and many clocks were furnished with musical chimes.

Nearly every household owned a tall clock, and in many houses the enormous clothes-press known as the *Kas* was frequently found. This, of course, was of Dutch origin and corresponded to the more modern wardrobe. Another piece of furniture that the English found when they arrived was the cabinet in which the citizens of New Amsterdam kept their choicest china and other curios.

"Thomas Ash, Windsor chair-maker." (1774.)

PART III

TABLE FURNISHINGS

PART III

TABLE FURNISHINGS

I

CHINA, USEFUL AND ORNAMENTAL

Occasionally, one hears it said that there was little or no china in New York before the Revolution; but whoever will pause to think for a moment will know that this could not be true. The Dutch, as is well known, were among the very first collectors of china in Europe. It is not likely that the Dutch ships constantly arriving in New Amsterdam should fail to import wares of this nature. Indeed, china and porcelain were to be found in Dutch homes on this side of the Atlantic, in great quantity, before the English satirists attacked the china-mania.

The home of Cornelis Steenwyck, who died in 1686, was profusely decorated with china. In one room alone—the Great Chamber—there were no less than "nineteen porcelain dishes," besides two flowered earthen pots. Margarita Van Varick was another person who possessed a vast amount of china. She had three East India cups and three East India dishes, three "cheenie pots," "one cheenie cup bound with silver," "two glassen cases with thirty-nine pieces of small chinaware," and eleven "Indian babyes."

Besides this, there were 126 pieces of chinaware, consisting of cups, saucers, tea-cups, dishes, basons, jugs, flower-pots, toys and images.

Mr. Jacob De Lange, who died in 1685, had a magnificent collection that would be priceless to-day. It included 164 separate pieces.

Francis Rombouts (1692), had one Holland cupboard furnished with porcelain and earthenware, worth £15; and another, valued at £5–13–0.

Cornelis Jacobs (1700), owned a china lacquered bowl and a parcel of chinaware and earthenware, twelve new plates and nine earthen dishes. Abraham

Group of ornamental earthenware, owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth.
See page 127.

DeLanoy (1702), had 120 dishes, cups and saucers; Colonel William Smith of St. Georges (1705), had chinaware worth £5; Joseph Nunes (1705), had "one small Delph plate"; Joseph Bueno (1709), had an earthen woman and a dog; seven china cups; twelve cups and saucers; and five images in glasses.

Capt. Giles Shelly (1718) owned much china, including a punch-bowl, "six chaney lions," eleven images, three "chaney basons," a red tea-pot, a sugar-box, an image and much earthenware; George Duncan (1724) possessed much earthenware and china, among which were seven images and a box with images; Governor Burnet's china and glass amounted to £130–16–0; and Governor Montgomerie had a set of china valued at £75.

The people of this period valued their china highly. They kept it in cabinets and cases with glass doors, on shelves, and in racks made especially for it, besides decorating with it mantel-pieces and the tops of cupboards, cases, presses and chests-of-drawers. Much of the china was purely ornamental, such as birds, animals, figures, and images. Specimens of the china images of the period are shown on page 361. These horses are white with trappings of the brightest colours. They are owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth.

Much of the china of the day, having come from the Orient, was exceedingly handsome, and was disposed of in special bequests. For instance, in 1684, Judith Stuyvesant left to her son, Nicholas, all her china "except the three great pots." These she left "To my cousin, Nicholas Bayard" and "My black cabinet of ebben wood with the foot or frame belonging to it, together with the three great china pots before reserved."

There is no reason why these three great pots should not have been similar to those shown on page 77, which have been for many years in the Beekman family. This covered jar and two beakers

are of the famous old Hizen ware, and were probably made about two hundred years ago. It may be said here that in the province of Hizen were two ports, one of which, Nagasaki, was the seat of the Dutch trade after 1641, and the other, Imari, the port from which most of the china was exported. One peculiarity of Hizen ware is that it somewhat resembles Chinese art. From Imari were sent two kinds of china: one, decorated with red, blue and gold; the other, merely with blue. The style of decoration consists of medallions representing landscapes or figures framed in branches of chrysanthemum, peony, fir, or bamboo. The jars on page 77 are of the red and blue variety. They were in the home of the Beekmans at "Rural Cove," New York and are still owned by the family.

A specimen of the ordinary Dutch cabinet filled with china, brass and copper-ware of the period, showing exactly what might have been found in the simplest home of New Amsterdam, is, with its contents, shown on page 356. People of such wealth as Cornelis Steenwyck, Jacob De Lange, and Margarita Van Varick owned much handsomer cases and cabinets for the display of their curios; but such a cabinet as the above was not beyond the reach of any one.

From the arrival of the English down to the Revolution, china was imported in increasingly large quantities from year to year. Among the largest importers were James Gilliland in Wall Street and later in Canon's Dock; John J. Roosevelt, Maiden Lane; George Bell, Bayard Street; and Henry Wilmot, Hanover Square. Every now and then, they adver-

tised large assortments of china and earthenware of the "newest fashion," and very frequently they described their goods.

It must be remembered that the various English potteries were in their full glory. The Elers were working near Burslem, producing a red ware similar to Japanese pottery, salt-glaze and black ware; at Burslem, Aaron Wood, Thomas Whieldon and John Mitchell were turning out yellowish white and cream-coloured salt-glaze, tortoiseshell, cauliflower and melon ware, and agate ware, and Wedgwood was improving every variety in partnership with Whieldon and later with Bentley. Liverpool, Worcester, Leeds, Yorkshire, Chelsea, Plymouth, Bow, Lowestoft, Swansea, and other noted English potteries were at the period of their greatest activity, so that when we read such a simple announcement in 1757 as that James McEvers has for sale "china ware by the chest, newest fashion," or that Gregg and Cunningham at their store in Queen Street have "a few hogsheads of earthenware, containing punch-bowls and plates, crates containing cups, saucers and tea-pots; also a parcel of common earthenware" (1756), we can tell very well what kind of articles went into New York homes. The following advertisement of 1757 is a little more detailed:

"To be sold by Edward Nicoll on the New Dock crates of common yellow ware, both cups and dishes; crates of white stone cups and saucers; crates of blue and white ditto; crates of white ware; crates of blue and white; crates of black; crates of tortoise shell and crates of red, all well sorted; crates of pocket bottles, boxes of glass, consisting of wine glass; salts, sugar dishes, cream pots and tumblers; tierces and hogsheads

White enamelled and salt glaze earthenware, owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth.

See page 125.

of Delft ware, consisting of punch-bowls, dishes, tea-cups and saucers; with a large and good assortment of earthenware and glass; and a parcel of fine mosaic dishes and plates by retail."

Nothing throughout our period was more popular than cream-coloured earthenware glazed with salt, upon which Wedgwood experimented until he produced the famous cream between 1761 and 1765. It attracted the attention of Queen Charlotte and thenceforth became known as Queen's Ware. It constantly appears in the New York advertisements after 1765.

Cream-coloured ware from Leeds, similar to the Staffordshire Queen's Ware, was also popular. It occurred most frequently in the basket, or wicker, pattern and was exceedingly light in weight. A choice group of this kind of ware appears on page 124. It belongs to Mrs. F. H. Bosworth. Here we find basket and perforated plates, a fruit-dish with a cover imitating various fruits, and a sauce-boat in the shape of a melon resting on a leaf, with a stem gracefully twisted to form a handle.

Lowestoft ware was made as early as 1752. Chinese patterns and floral patterns (particularly the pink rose), were the designs in most universal use. Very frequently, fine tea-sets and dessert services were decorated to order with coats-of-arms, crests, or cyphers, accompanied by a floral or scroll border. This ware was also imported into New York. A tea-set that was given to Gen. and Mrs. Hezekiah Barnes, in 1780, on the occasion of their wedding, appears on page 126. It might, however, be of earlier date. This set is now in the Museum of the Colonial Dames at Van Cortlandt, New York.

A good idea of the china that was used in 1762 may be obtained by referring to the stock of Keeting and Morris, who had removed from Beekman's Slip to the New Dock and announced "a compleat assort-

Lowestoft china in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames. See page 125.

ment of the most fashionable kinds of Glass and Stone-Ware." This included "table plates and dishes both of the oval and round shape, black tea-pots, mugs and bowls of all sizes, tortoise, table plates and dishes of the newest patterns, green and tortoise tea-pots, milk pots, bowls, cups and saucers, Venice flower vases and horns, glass quart, pint, and half pint decanters, wine glasses, enamelled stone tea-pots, mugs, bowls and tea-cups, and saucers of all sizes and of the newest patterns, with a great variety of plain white ware."

There was no less interest in quaint figures of animals, birds, images and curious objects than there was in the days of the Dutch. Ornamental china was made in great quantities, particularly at Chelsea, Plymouth and Bow. Busts also grew in popularity.

These were generally of earthenware brightly painted. Shakespeare, Milton, George II., George III., Wolfe, Chatham, and all the popular heroes, poets and actors of the day could be had. Other ornaments for chimney-pieces, tops of bookcases, chests-of-drawers, shelves and cabinets, included brightly painted birds, cats, dogs, lambs, shepherds and shepherdesses, mythological figures, figures of Britannia seated on a lion, Minerva with shield, owl, and books, Neptune with trident on a base of shells and rock-work, lovers, pastoral figures, allegorical figures, such as the Seasons, etc., etc. A typical group of such ware appears on page 120. This belongs to Mrs. F. H. Bosworth.

A few citations of importations will show how popular was this form of decoration; for example: "some beautiful ornamental chimney china" 1766; "white stone-ware, including complete tea-table toys for children, with a great collection of different kinds of birds, beasts, etc., in stoneware, very ornamental for mantle-pieces, chests-of-drawers, etc.," 1767; "one set of image china," 1768; "the greatest variety of ornamental china, consisting of groups, setts of figures, pairs and jars just opened," 1770; and "birds and baskets of flowers for the tops of bookcases," 1775.

Oriental ware never declines in popularity. Dinner services, tea-pots, cups and saucers, vases, etc., come from Canton and Nankin as in modern days. A few dishes, with a salad-bowl and soup tureen that belonged to William Denning about 1765, are shown on page 93. They show the kind of Oriental china that was in common use in the best New York houses.

A tea-table set of Nankin china was mentioned among the private sales in 1773.

The taste for Eastern art was not shared by every one, however, for in a long fable in 1754, we read the following description of a tea-pot that was evidently the fashion :

> " A tawdry Tea Pot *à la mode*
> Where Art her utmost skill bestow'd,
> Was much esteem'd for being old,
> And on its sides with Red and Gold
> Strange Beasts were drawn in taste Chinese,
> And frightful Fish and hump-backed Trees.
> High in an elegant beaufet
> This pompous Utensil was set.
> And near it on a Marble Slab
> Forsaken by some careless Drab
> A veteran Scrubbing Brush was plac'd
> And the rich Furniture disgrac'd."

Some of the families that inherited old china always kept it jealously. A few examples still survive. They have conquered every change of fashion. On page 129 is a pair of " Mandarin vases," originally owned by William de Peyster, who died in 1784. He also owned the richly decorated Oriental bowl that appears on the same plate. These three pieces were buried for safety, during the Revolution. Between the vases is a plate that belonged to Margaret Livingston in 1758.

In 1767, we note that Breese and Hoffman, of Wall Street, had imported " India china, enamelled and blue and white bowls, caudle cups, blue and white cups and saucers, with small sets of service china, and Nankin china mugs." Among the lists of importations from 1750 to 1775, are found Eng-

lish Delft, blue and white earthenware, japanned, gilded, green, agate, tortoiseshell, Tunbridge, Portobello, cream-coloured, brown edged sprig, enamelled burnt china, quilted china, cauliflower and melon, black, pencilled, Dresden, Staffordshire and flint

Vases, bowl and plate originally owned by William de Peyster, and now by the family of the late James de Peyster. See page 128.

ware. Pine-apple and "colly flower coffee pots," white tortoise mugs and jugs, black ware and agate and melloned ware were advertised in 1765–'6; while white and enamelled tea-table sets, white and burnt china bowls, blue and white enamelled china, blue and white landscape china, enamelled white and gilt landscape, nankin, brown edged sprig and duck break-

fast cups and saucers; black and white ribbed and engraved china, burnt china, and white, quilted and plain china were imported in 1767; burnt china jars and beakers, fruit-baskets, sauce-boats and "pickel" leaves in 1772; "burnt china, quilted china, pencil'd china, blue and white Queen's ware, Delph, and stone enamelled black," in 1773; blue and white, blue and gold, purple and gold and enamelled and burnt, in 1774; "elegant sets of Dresden tea table china and ornamental jars and figures decorated and enriched in the highest taste," in 1775; and "very handsome red china tea-pots, Wedgwood's," in 1778.

In view of these importations, it may be interesting to define a few of the varieties mentioned. The tortoiseshell ware was covered with a mottled glaze,

Group of Wedgwood, owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth. See page 132.

brown, purple or green. Frequently, wine cups and drinking-glasses were made of this. A specimen cup with the head of Bacchus appears on page 120.

Agate was variegated ware, imitating agate or marble, and was made by mixing different clays to-

gether. Cauliflower ware imitated that vegetable in form and colour, and was especially attractive to potters of the day who prided themselves on their green glaze and cream-coloured body. Pickle-leaves were dishes in imitation of the leaf; the pineapple was imitated, for jugs and tea-pots; the lettuce was used frequently for bowls and jugs; and the favourite melon ware included melons and other fruits. The Portobello ware was made by Astbury in 1727 after the expedition of Admiral Vernon, who took Portobello.

There was also a great demand for the decorated painted and enamelled china. The china was ornamented with portraits of George II., Queen Charlotte, William Pitt, George III. and Shakespeare, and pictures of the Four Seasons, Freemasons' Arms, Masonic Emblems, Milkmaid and other pastoral scenes after Watteau, Milkmaids and May Dance after Gainsborough, Garden Scenes, Tea Parties, Landscapes with Ruins and River Scenes, Chinese Landscapes and Figures, Fishing and Garden Parties, Haymakers, Architectural Ruins after Panini, and pictures after Angelica Kauffman, Cipriani, Cosway and Bartolozzi. Much of this came from Worcester, Liverpool and Battersea.

In all probability, this ware was the "pencilled" china so frequently mentioned among the late importations. Quilted china was done somewhat after the style of the pineapple and cauliflower ware, and much of it was made at St. Cloud in France.

The most famous of the many famous English potters, however, was Josiah Wedgwood, who made every kind of ware that we have mentioned and

adapted it to every article, including snuff-boxes, candlesticks, inkstands and the handles of knives and forks. The first ware that brought fame to Wedgwood was the "cream coloured," which, as we have seen, became the Queen's Ware. Then he made a kind of red ware after the style of the Elers; and, in 1766, the black ware, which he called basaltes, or black Egyptian. In 1773, he made a fine white terra cotta of great beauty and delicacy fit for cameos, portraits and bas-reliefs, and in 1776 the famous jasper ware that could be made of any tint,—such as light and dark blue, pale buff, salmon-pink or sage-green. An interesting group of Wedgwood specimens appears on page 130, owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth, of New York. There are upon this illustration several pieces of black basalt, jasper ware of pale blue, lapis lazuli, sage-green and buff enriched with cameos and festoons, and a white vase. In the centre is a tea-pot of black basalt.

Although the New York families were constantly buying china of the latest fashions, they took great care of the pieces that had long been in their homes, as is shown by the number of men who made a business of repairing. One of these, Jacob Da Costa in Batteau Street, advertised in 1769, that he "mends broken china with rivets and cement, mends all sorts of marble or china furniture, such as is used for ornamenting chimney-pieces, chests-of-drawers, etc., mends the necks of decanters that have been broken, hoops glass and china mugs that have been cracked and mends ladies' fans."

II

PLATE, TANKARDS, PUNCH BOWLS AND CANDLESTICKS

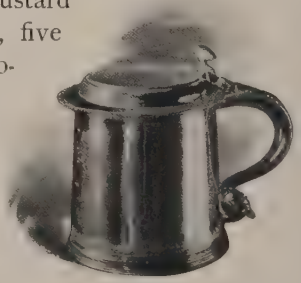
Wrought silver was always highly prized. From the first settlement of this country, every prosperous householder possessed pieces of plate. In New York, before 1700, examples occur in numerous inventories of English, Dutch and French homes. Thomas Eaton in 1668, bequeathed to Mrs. Abigail Nicolls, "my silver boat, my silver meat fork, and a silver spoon." George Cook's silver, in 1679, was worth £40. John Sharpe, in 1681, owned 730 oz. of silver plate valued at £219.

At that date, wrought silver was worth six shillings and eightpence an ounce. It may be mentioned here that its value averaged about seven shillings an ounce for the next two hundred years. Col. Lewis Morris (1691), had 900 oz. of silver plate, which at 6 sh. 9d. per oz. came to £303–15.0. Five years later, 185 oz. belonging to Margarita Van Varick was valued at 7 sh. 9d per oz. Besides this 185 oz., which was probably in the form of cups, beakers, salvers, etc., she had a lot of miscellaneous articles in silver.

These comprised two pairs of scissors, two brushes lined with silver, a spice-box, an egg-dish, a thimble, a wrought East India box, a small knife and fork, three wrought East Indian cups, two wrought East Indian dishes, two knives, five wrought East Indian

boxes, a tumbler marked R. V., a fork with studded handle, a wrought East Indian trunk, a salt-cellar, a china cup bound with silver, and eighty-three playthings, or toys. All these items were separately specified as silver. Some of the individual prices of plate of this period may be of interest. In 1690, it is expressly stated that six large and three small spoons together with six forks, belonging to Madame Blanche Sauzeau, cost £10. In 1686, a silver beaker belonging to Derick Clausen was appraised at £3; and the 295 oz. belonging to Sarah Jacobs were valued at seven shillings per ounce.

Asser Levy, a butcher in 1683, was evidently fond of plate. His pieces comprise twenty-two silver spoons, one fork, three goblets, one tumbler, one tankard, one mustard pot, one cup with two ears, five small cups, one ditto, one goblet, two salt-cellars, one cup, one spice-box, a cornelia tree cup with silver and two ditto dishes, weighing in all 10 lbs. and valued at £48. His total estate was £553–15–0.



Silver tankard, owned by Frederic J. de Peyster, Esq. See page 137.

William Cox (1689), owned a case of silver hafted knives, silver tankard, cup, plate, sugar-box and spoon, salt-cellar, two porringers, tumbler and twelve spoons.

It is thus abundantly evident that, at the opening of our period, the chests, kasses and cupboards of the

New York traders were well supplied with plate. But before going further in our examination of the Eighteenth Century silver, it will be well to recapitulate those articles most commonly found already. These are the dram cup, the caudle cup, the salt, the beaker, the salver, the tumbler, the goblet, the tankard, and the porringer. In addition to these, there were boxes for spices, pepper and sugar, besides knives, spoons, forks and candlesticks. It must be remembered, however, that even in 1700 the fork was not yet universally used. The voider was a dish or tray into which crumbs and fragments of food were swept from the table after a meal. The "voyder knife" used for this purpose is frequently mentioned in the inventories. The voider soon came into general use: families that could not afford one of silver, had one painted, or japanned, or made of mahogany.

The "salt" still preserved its massive Mediæval character in many cases, though the low circular, or octagonal, form was rapidly driving it out. Twenty ounces was not an excessive weight for one of the high chased and carved "salts" used here in 1700.

A great water-pot with its cover, belonging to James Laty, in 1692, was, perhaps, one of those fine ewers employed for pouring water over the hands after every course at meals in an age when forks were not in general use. They were accompanied by basins, similarly ornamented. The description, however, would rather fit the "tankard" that came into general use during the Seventeenth Century. The word was originally applied to a receptacle for water,—tub, bucket, or jug—and gradually restricted to mean a

silver or pewter mug with handle or cover. From the accession of Charles II. to that of George I. this article was usually plain in form and design, with flat hinged lids and heavy handles, the latter sometimes terminating in a whistle. The later "Queen Anne" tankards, however, had a swelling drum and domed lid, sometimes ending in a knob. Their ornamentation principally consisted of the arms and monograms of the owners. Sometimes silver coins were embedded in the lids of these tankards. Thus, in 1733:

Silver candlesticks (1762–'3), originally owned by Samuel and Judith Ver Planck. See page 143.

"Stole at Flatbush on Long Island One Silver Tankard, a piece of Money in the Led of King Charles II. and the Led all ingraved, a Coat of Arms before (in it a Man on a Waggon with two Horses) marked in the handle L P A. One Silver Tankard plain with a piece of Money in the Led, mark'd on the Handle A P or A L. One Cup with two twisted Ears chas'd with Skutchens mark'd L P A. One Tumbler mark'd L P A. One Dutch Beker weighs about 28 Ounces Engrav'd all round mark'd L P A. All the above was made by Jacob Boele, Stamp'd I. B. One large Cup with two cast Ears, with Heads upon them and a Coat of arms Engrav'd thereon. One Cup with two Ears, a small Hole in the bottom. Whoever can inform Peter Lefferts of Flatbush on Long Island,

or Abraham Lefferts in New York, so that it may be had again, shall have Fifteen Pounds Reward and no Questions asked."

A very fine authentic example of this style is owned by Frederic J. de Peyster, Esq. and appears on page 134. Another that belonged to William Beekman is represented on page 179. A later form of tankard appears on page 156. The hall-mark shows that this was made in 1749–'50. It belonged to James Alexander and is now owned by Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis of Hoboken, N. J. Another early Eighteenth century tankard appears on page 153. A fifth is shown on page 371; it belonged to Maria Crooke who gave it to her daughter, Catharine Elmendorph in 1768 when she was married to Rutgers Bleecker of Albany. The tankard is engraved with the Crooke arms.

A sixth tankard, shown on page 138, is marked on the handle $\frac{R.}{R.S.}$, the initials standing for Richard and Sarah (Bogert) Ray whose pictures appear on pages 195 and 202. This piece of silver was bequeathed to their son Cornelius Ray (1755–1827), whose initials with crest (Ray) are engraved on the front of the tankard. The large mug has the same initials, and the small mug contains the crest, but not the markings on the handle. The soup-ladle, which is an unusually fine specimen, is also marked with the Ray initials. These are now owned by a descendant, Mrs. Natalie E. Baylies of New York.

The slop-bowl with cover, in the same illustration, belonged to Elizabeth Elmendorph who married Cornelius Ray and is now owned by their granddaughter, Mrs. Natalie E. Baylies. The large silver salver

hanging above these smaller articles has the date letter of 1784–'5 and is engraved with the arms of the English family of Sands. It was given by Comfort Sands to his daughter, Cornelia, in 1797 when she was married to Nathaniel Prime. She gave it to Rufus Prime and it passed from Temple Prime to Mrs. Natalie E. Baylies.

Silver belonging to the Sands and Ray families; now owned by Mrs. Natalie E. Baylies. See page 137.

The two silver mugs standing on the tea-table (page 312) are excellent specimens of the period. They were owned by Thomas Barrow and brought by him to New York. They are dated H, the letter for the year 1763–'4, and are ornamented with scroll-work, flowers and pavilions in the Chinese taste.

Tumblers are often found. These received their

name from the fact that no matter how you laid them down, they were so balanced as always to assume an upright position, swaying from side to side till they came to rest on their own base. These round-bottomed acrobatic cups, or tumblers, were sometimes called bowls in the inventories, and were of different sizes;—the larger for beer and the smaller for wine.

Caudle-cups, which frequently occur, were also known as posset-cups or posnets. At the present time they would probably be designated loving-cups. They had two handles and a cover, and sometimes stood on a tray. They were wider at the base than at the top and were used for drinking posset, which was a concoction of milk curdled with wine, and other ingredients. Bowls, also with covers and handles, but wider in the mouth than the caudle-cup, were called porringers. Instead of being circular in form, they sometimes had eight or twelve sides. The Queen Anne fluted porringers were often used as beer cups. Earlier specimens were ornamented with acanthus and other leaves and floral devices in *repoussé* work. As time went on, the porringer became taller in proportion to its diameter and the handles more slender and graceful. Another important piece of plate was the punch-bowl. This occurs in innumerable inventories during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries from Salem to Charleston.

The handsome silver punch-bowl on page 140 now belonging to Frederic J. de Peyster, Esq., is of English make as its hall-marks show. It dates from the year 1704, and is almost identical with one in

Silver punch-bowl (1704) owned by Frederic J. de Peyster, Esq.

See page 139.

possession of the Vintners Company, London, which is of the year 1702. The fluted bowl, the large rings depending from the lions' heads, and the gadrooned base are characteristics of this period.

This kind of punch-bowl was usually called a Monteith, from a scalloped or battlemented rim that was placed on the top of the bowl for the purpose of carrying the glasses. The name was given to it on account of its association with a gentleman of fashion who was noted for wearing a scalloped coat. The glasses were arranged in the scalloped rim with their bases outward. The bowl was brought in empty, for every gentleman took pride in mixing punch. The various ingredients and the ladle were brought in with the bowl. When the bowl was placed on the table, the glasses were first lifted out of the rim and then the rim was removed. Punch ladles were of silver, or horn tipped with silver. One, of silver with a twisted ebony handle, appears on page 388. Punch-strainers were also used.

Ewers and basins became plentiful before 1700, the absence of forks, as has been said, rendering them very necessary at meals. The great number of napkins in every home of wealth is thus accounted for also. The salvers that accompanied the helmet-shaped ewers were usually quite plain. The other salvers, about 1700, were plain circular dishes with engraved ornamentation. The engraving as a decoration had taken the place of the *repoussé* work of the earlier styles, some of which are very beautifully wrought. A magnificent specimen is shown on page 394. The De Peyster arms are stamped in the centre.

The "Queen Anne" salvers have their edges both chased and shaped, and they stand on three and sometimes four small feet. The plainer ones are often gadrooned around the edges.

The succeeding style of salver had a beaded edge, and instead of being circular, or shaped, was a plain oval tray with a handle at each end. One of these appears on page 156 with one of older date above it. The lower one was given by Gen. Washington to Eleanor Custis. The hall-mark shows that it was made in England in 1797. The Lewis arms are engraved upon it. It is interesting as showing how long this style lasted,—at least, till the end of the century. The small salver, above it of very handsome design, has the hall-mark 1743. It belongs to Miss Garnett of Hoboken, N. J. On the same plate are shown two coffee-pots, one of which belonged to James Alexander (see page 76), a tea-pot with hall-mark of 1749–'50; a tankard (1749–'50) and a sugar-dredger.

Candelabra, candlesticks and sconces of silver were found in fashionable homes very early in the history of New York. The big "standing candlestick" often had two or three arms or branches. The candlesticks in the form of fluted columns were the favourite form in the reign of Charles II. They lasted for many years. The bases were generally square, but sometimes octagonal. At a certain height above the base, these candlesticks had a projection that served as a knob by which they could be conveniently held or carried. This simple form remained in fashion through the reigns of William and Mary, and Anne, but the fluted columns changed to balus-

ter stems with square bases having the corners sometimes cut off, and sometimes set back and rounded.

During the reign of George I. the florid ornamentation and twisted work of the Regency and early Louis Quinze style came into vogue, especially the designs of Meissonier. Good examples are the candlesticks on page 136 and the very beautiful tea-kettle and stand on page 36, both of which belonged to the Ver Planck family. The candlesticks are part of a set of six originally owned by Samuel and Judith Crommelin Ver Planck. The hall-mark shows that they were made in 1762. These are now owned by Mr. William E. Ver Planck of New York. The tea-kettle on page 36 has the same hall-mark, and is now owned by Mrs. Louis Fitzgerald, of New York.

At the beginning of the reign of George III., the fashionable pattern for the candlestick was the Corinthian column, and this was the first style that invariably had a removable socket-pan. Fine examples are shown on page 150. These bear the hall-marks of 1766 and belonged to the Waltons (see pages 19 and 69). Four candlesticks of the same period, owned by Frederic J. de Peyster, Esq., appear on page 270.

Every home that had any pretensions to wealth or fashion was supplied with silver candlesticks for at least one room. Glass was also very fashionable for sconces. In 1729, Governor Burnet owned twelve silver candlesticks weighing 171½ oz., two branches for three lights and two large glass sconces with glass arms. (See page 63.)

Like the china, the plate was often kept in cupboards made for its display. Among the possessions

of George Duncan (1724), who owned 258 oz. of silver, we find a plate case with glass doors valued at £3–5–0. These cupboards did not afford much protection against theft, and rendered the burglar's task easy. We find many advertisements of stolen plate, with rewards for its recovery. In most cases it bears the arms and almost invariably the initials of the owner. Several contemporary engravers found plenty of employment in New York. In 1755, Henry Dawkins, engraver, lives opposite the Merchants' Coffee House. In 1763, "Joseph Simons seal-cutter and engraver from Berlin, cuts all sorts of coats-of-arms, cyphers etc. in stone, steel, silver, or any other metal, also engraves coats-of-arms, crests and cyphers on plate &c."

"For Bristol, the brigantine *Phila*, freight and passage, Cruger's wharf." (1773.)

III

TEA-POTS, URNS AND SPOONS

Besides the plate imported from France, England and Holland, a considerable quantity was manufactured here. On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many of the best workers in the precious metals left France and settled in Holland, Germany and England. Not a few crossed the Atlantic. The names of the silversmiths who were freemen of New York from the close of the Seventeenth Century till the Revolution were as follows: Everardus Bogardus, Ahasuerus Kendrick, Cornelis Kiersteade and Benjamin Wyncoope (1698); Richard Overin and Jacob Vanderspiegel (1701); Benjamin Kip (1702); Bartolo Schaats (1708); Cornelis Cornelison (1712); Coenraet Ten Eyck (1716); Peter Vergereau (1721); Samuel Broadhurst (1725); John Hastier (1726); Cornelius Wynkoop (1727); Stephen Bourdet (1730); John Brevoort (1742); Silvester Morris (1759); John Burt Lyng and John Heath (1761); Joshua Slydell and William Grigg (1765); Walter Thomas (1769); and John Rominie (1770).

It will be noticed that some of the above names are unmistakably Huguenot, while others are English and Dutch. Besides these freemen, other silversmiths kept shops in New York and advertised in the papers. In 1767, Cary Dunn was in New Dutch Church

Street. Joseph Pinto of Bayard Street was a silversmith who kept his wares prominently before the public. In 1759 he announced :

"Very neat chased silver tea pots, sugar pots, mugs chased and plain, milk pots, coffee pots, pepper castors, salts with shovels and glasses to them, fluted and chased children's whistles, double and single jointed tea tongs, tea spoons, punch strainers and ladles."

He also sold "crystal and paste shoe, knee, stock and girdle buckles" and in 1761 he offered :

"Very fine silver chased turene, dish and spoon; chased and plain stands, full finished; chased candlesticks, coffee and tea pots, sugar dishes, slop bowls, and sauce boats, chased and plain pint and half pint mugs, salvers of different sizes, and milk pots, salts and pepper castors and narrow spoons, cases with silver-handled knives and forks, silver watches, silver and plated spurs, chased and plain whistles, gold-headed canes, locket buttons set in gold, shoe, knee and girdle buckles."

In the same year, he had a few additional articles, including silver chased coffee-pots, tea-pots and sugar-dishes, punch-strainers and ladles, and a "great variety of open-worked stone, knee and girdle buckles, gold and silver brooches set with garnets, plain gold do., crystal buttons set in gold and a variety of other things." Another silversmith who was anxious to serve the public was Benjamin Halsted. On one occasion at least, he does not seem to have given entire satisfaction, judging from the following announcement in 1764 :

"A premonition to those gentlemen that may hereafter have an occasion to employ a silversmith to beware of that villain Benjamin Halsted; lest they be bit by him as I have been. Andrew Bowne."

A few representative lists of plate actually owned by families about the middle of the century will show that the New York merchant's table was as well supplied as his brother's in England. Rip Van Dam, (see page 86) possessed a good deal of valuable silver

Urn, coffee-pot, spoons, *étui case* and snuff-box owned by the Lynson, Rutgers and Ludlow families. See page 152.

among which may be mentioned three tankards relatively worth $50.00, $35.00 and $60.00; a chafing-dish, $35.00; two candlesticks, snuffers and stand, $80.00; three castors, $30.00; two salvers worth $40.00 and $18.00; mug, salt-cellar and pepper-box, $20.00; two dozen spoons, $18.00; a pot, $14.00; and tea-spoons and table spoons, $25.00. The de Peyster plate, in 1760, consisted of four tankards, two decanters, two

dishes, three plates, seven salvers, two large salvers, two small salvers, two cups and covers, two chafing-dishes, six porringers, four sauce-boats, two punch-bowls, three mugs, four sugar-dishes, a coffee-pot and tea-pot, seven salts and shovels, one saucepan, four pairs of snuffers and stand, a mustard-pot, a bread-basket, a dram-bottle, a tobacco-dish, nine castors, six candlesticks, one waiter, twenty-three forks, three soup-spoons, two punch-ladles, ten tablespoons, ten tea-spoons, two sugar-tongs — all weighing 1272 ounces,—valued at from $1,500 to $2,000.

Some specimens of silver that were long in the de Peyster family appear on pages 140 and 394. Others, including an urn, coffee-pot, salvers, a tea-caddy, a mug, a strainer, ladles, candlesticks and grape-vine spoons appear on page 153. These are owned by the family of the late James de Peyster of New York.

The silver in the Walton house (described on page 69), might have indeed been described as "massy plate," amounting as it did to 340¾ ounces. It consisted of two pairs of silver candlesticks, 81¼ ounces; one silver snuffers stand, 11¼; one large silver waiter, 32; two small silver waiters, 15½; two pint mugs, 21¾; two pint bowls, 12½; two sauce-boats, 29; four salts and four shovels, 12½; twenty tea-spoons; one sugar-tongs, 1; one small chafing-dish, 1; one punch-ladle, ½; one wine-cock, 5; two table-spoons, 4½; one tankard, 31¾; one punch-strainer, 1¼; one coffee-pot, 28; one large soup-spoon, 8; one large tankard, 44; and two large cases of knives, forks, and spoons. Two of the above candlesticks appear on page 150.

We have seen that during the Eighteenth Cen-

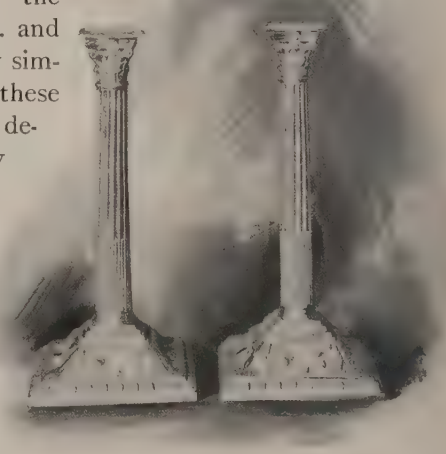
tury, it was not an exceptional case for a wealthy home to contain plate weighing 1000 oz. and sometimes considerably more. It will be interesting to see of what a typical collection of this kind, though only of about half the above amount, consisted.

	oz.	dwts.
1 silver tea-kettle, lamp and stand	107	14
1 waiter	82	10
1 saucepan	23	15
1 chafing-dish	23	14
1 set castors and stand	31	12
1 tankard	35	10
1 flat waiter	35	9
1 salver	13	2
1 small waiter	6	3
2 small waiters	15	9
1 punch-strainer	3	2
1 caudle-cup	33	15
1 pair salvers	15	4
1 pair sauce-boats	27	9
2 small saucepans	7	..
1 punch ladle	3	..
12 table spoons	23	15
2 large soup-spoons	11	18
12 table-spoons	24	15
10 table-spoons	18	10
12 custard-spoons	12	5
2 marrow-spoons	3	14
1 pepper-box	2	9
12 tea-spoons	6	11
12 tea-spoons	2	18

The date of the above inventory is 1751. In addition to these articles, it enumerated: 12 silver-handled knives and forks; 12 dessert ditto; 23 knives and forks with ivory handles, and 12 dessert ditto.

An early example of the tea-pot is globular. This form was frequently ornamented with a crest, or coat-of-arms. Specimens appear on pages 275 and 138.

The former was owned by the Rev. Samuel Johnson, first President of King's College; and now belongs to his descendants, Mr. and Mrs. William E. Ver Planck. The second, belonging to Mr. and Mrs. Richard Ray, is now owned by their descendant, Mrs. Natalie E. Baylies, of New York. It is noticeable that many tea-pots and tea-kettles of the reigns of George II. and George III. are very simple in design. In these reigns, Louis Quinze designs were also very popular. An example of such a tea-pot, bearing the hall-mark of 1749–'50, appears on page 156. Another tea-pot appears on page 273. The latter belonged to Dr. Matthias Burnet Miller (1749–1792), and was given to his son Judge Morris Smith Miller. This is now owned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox, of New York. A handsome tea-set, said to date from the middle of the century, belongs to Frederic J. de Peyster, Esq., and appears on page 284.



Silver candlesticks owned by William Walton (1766). See pages 143 and 148.

As a rule, the coffee-pot was slender and taller in form than the tea-pot. Coffee-pots appear on pages 153 and 156. Two coffee-pots of the Louis Quinze period are shown on the latter page. The one on the right with the hall-mark 1758–'9, belonged to James Alexander, father of the Earl of Stirling (see page 76). It has a beautiful pattern of flowers and scroll-work and a border of little bells reminiscent of Chinese ornamentation. The top is shaped like a pine-apple. This piece of silver was buried during the Revolution. It is now owned by Mr. Alexander's descendant, Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis, of Hoboken, N. J. The other coffee-pot, in the same picture, bearing the hall-mark of 1762–'3, is similar in its general design and ornamentation. Another old coffee-pot appears on page 147, and is owned by Mrs. W. W. Shippen of New York.

The cream-jug and sugar-bowl usually matched the tea-pot. Part of a set that originally belonged to Henry Bowers (1747–1800), is shown on page 371. These are now owned by his descendant, Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox of New York. Their general shape, with lobes, as well as their square handles and ball feet show that these are early pieces. It may be remarked here that the ball foot upon silver vessels appeared very early in the Seventeenth Century. Upon the same illustration (page 371), is a gravy boat that belonged to Maria Crooke (1721–1794), who was married to Petrus Elmendorph of Kingston. It is owned now by their great-grand-daughter Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox. The salt-cellars with their original spoons were owned by John Rutger Bleecker

and are now in the possession of Mrs. French Ensor Chadwick. The tankard was owned by Maria Crooke, and the candlestick is one of a pair owned by James Chatham Duane.

Chocolate-pots were much used and sometimes stood on feet. One of quite late date bearing the hall-mark of 1784, and owned by Mrs. Douglas Robinson, of New York, appears on page 352.

The urn is of later date than the tea-kettle. It was generally of a pointed or oval shape. Specimens appear on pages 153 and 147. The former belongs to the de Peyster family; the second, to Catharine Lynson and is owned by her descendant, Mrs. W. W. Shippen, of New York. In the same illustration is shown a coffee-pot that belonged to Gabriel Ludlow, and coffee-spoons decorated with the heads of jesters. There is also a snuff-box on this plate and an *étui* case once owned by Catharine Rutgers.

A group of silver appears on page 273, together with several small articles. On the left is a sugar-bowl that belonged to a set owned by Maria Livingston and James Duane who were married in 1759. It is now owned by their great-great-grand-daughter, Mrs. French Ensor Chadwick. On the left is a bowl owned by Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox. The small salt-cellars that belonged to the Hon. Samuel Jones of New York (1734–1819), are also owned by Mrs. Cox. Between them stands a small filigree bowl, or cup, lined with blue glass, and a spoon. These belonged to Cornelia Harring Jones, wife of the Hon. Samuel Jones and are now owned by her great-great-grand-daughter, Mrs. French Ensor Chadwick.

Silver belonging in the family of the late James de Peyster of New York.

See page 148.

A few examples of plated ware appear on pages 321 and 368. The tea-caddy, snuff-box, dish, and open-work basket on page 368, are owned by Mrs. Alan Hartwell Strong of New Brunswick. On the same illustration are some very interesting card-counters, each stamped with the head of Queen Anne. The little cylindrical box in which these are kept also bears Queen Anne's head.

Silver spoons were to be found in this country from its earliest settlement. The forms of the old spoons were very numerous. The bowls were deep and shallow, egg-shaped, kite-shaped and circular. The stems were round, flat, fluted, spiral, square and worked in many patterns. Sometimes the handle ended in a baluster and square, or hexagonal, engraved button (known as the seal-headed spoon); sometimes in a head or figure. The most famous of those with figures were the Apostles' Spoons, which were always highly prized. They occur frequently in the inventories.

The end of the handle of the Jacobean spoon was broadened, flattened and notched, terminating in three points slightly turned up, and the bowl was a regular oval in shape. This was called the hind's foot spoon and lasted till the end of the reign of Queen Anne.

The new fashion then introduced shows a bowl of a more elongated ellipse; the end of the handle rounded and turned up, and the middle of the stem gradually rising in a high ridge running down to the extremity of the handle. Although other styles were successively introduced, this pattern persisted almost till 1770. About 1750, the shape with which we are

familiar to-day, came into fashion. The bowl became more pointed, the deepest part being towards the stem, and the end of the handle was turned down instead of up, as heretofore, while the tongue at the back of the bowl, known as "the rat's tail," was shortened into a drop. This is popularly termed "Old English" pattern. It lasted till the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, when it was supplanted by the pattern known as the "Fiddle Head."

Another spoon that was very popular in Georgian days was used principally for liquor. The figure of a monkey was carried on the handle, and from this it took its name. The monkey-spoon was sometimes found in company with the mourning ring and gloves that were given to the bearers at a funeral. We are told that each of the eight bearers received one at the funeral of Philip Livingston, in 1749.

The marrow-spoon was also of importance. On page 164 several spoons of the period appear with other articles. The small spoons there shown were made by Isaac Hutton, a noted silversmith of Albany, and are now owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth of New York. The ladle belonged to Helena Morris and John Rutherford (1782), and are now in the Van Cortlandt Museum. The little spoon in one of the salt-cellars was made by one Forbes, also an American silversmith. On the same plate there is a funeral spoon, now owned by Mrs. Howard Townsend. It was one of the spoons given to the pall-bearers at the funeral of Stephen Van Rensselaer in 1787.

The family silver, especially such as Monteiths tankards, caudle-cups, etc., was sometimes highly

prized. We should be astonished that so little old plate has survived if we did not know that our forefathers as a rule had very little veneration for anything that commemorated the fashions of a former day. Gifts from royal personages, such as the pieces of plate given to Governor Burnet by the Electress Sophia for his services to the House of Hanover, or the plate presented to Lord Baltimore by Frederick,

Silver owned by the Cox and Alexander families ; now by Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis. See page 142.

Prince of Wales, were naturally cherished, as were pieces that had sentimental and family associations, but, as a rule, when new fashions came in, much of the old went to the melting-pot.

Before 1700, we find English settlers sending their plate to London to be refashioned according to new styles. Artistic perception had little to do with this

custom. Sometimes the new fashions were inferior in beauty to those they supplanted. The mere fact that an article was old-fashioned lowered its value. In the inventories, old and new-fashioned plate are sometimes set down in separate items, the former being valued so much less per ounce. It was a very common custom for a man to send his old cups and salvers to the silversmith when he wanted new tea-pots. A bill rendered by Paul Revere is extant, in which a tea-pot, stand and some spoons came to £15–10–0: against this £8–15–0 was credited for a salver containing 25 oz. of silver. The materials and workmanship were charged separately.

When the stormy days of the Revolution arrived, people who had wealth in the form of plate had reason to congratulate themselves, for in comparison with other goods it was readily removable, and when necessity arose it could be easily hidden. Much was buried, and considerable ingenuity was exercised to keep it out of the clutches of rapacious soldiers. One such case is related in the following letter written by Mrs. Alexander Wallace to Gouverneur Morris, Dec. 28, 1776:

"Mrs. Hugh Wallace is pretty well in health, but very unhappy about her husband being kept so long from her, and what adds to her distress is the very heavy loss she has met with about ten days ago in losing all her plate. She sent it to Mr. Richard Yates last summer at Aquacknock, to be kept there as a place of safety; but upon his leaving that place he had the box which contained the plate put on board a brig, commanded by Capt. Roche, bound to this place. About four miles below Hackinsack the brig was seized by a party of your army, and all the goods taken out. The plate cost upwards of

£1500, this currency. She thinks the gentlemen belonging to the Convention, when they know it belongs to her, will order it to be sent to her immediately, as it would be very hard indeed to send her husband away to Connecticut and allow her property to be plundered. I must request the favour of you to get this affair settled as soon as possible. Enclosed is an inventory of the plate; it was all in one box."

"1 tea urn, 1 epergne, 1 very large bowl, 4 candlesticks, 1 large pudding dish, 2 large salvers, 3 small salvers, 1 large tankard, 1 coffee pot, 1 pitcher, 1 cruet stand, 4 long handled spoons, 4 scalloped spoons, 6 dozen table spoons, 1 dozen dessert spoons, 1 sugar dish, 1 funnel, 1 fish trowel, 6 salts, 2 mustard pots with spoons, 6 skewers, 2 milk pots, 1 tea chest with cannisters, 1 sugar tongs, 4 labels for bottles, 4 tumblers, 4 rummers, 2 black jacks, 1 large soup ladle, 1 marrow spoon."

"Smith Richards, Grocer and Confectioner, at the Sign of the Tea-Canister and Two Sugar Loaves." (1773.)

IV

PEWTER, GLASSWARE, CUTLERY AND BRASS

Although silver was universally employed and highly prized, as we have seen, pewter was a necessity even in the kitchens of the wealthy. Of course, among the lower classes it took the place of silver in all parts of the house. The number of pewterers in New York show how much in demand this ware was. Early in our period, people could buy pewter articles from James Leddel at the Sign of the Platter in Dock Street, but in 1744 he removed to the lower end of Wall Street. Another pewterer was Robert Boyle, who in 1755 lived at the Sign of the Gilt Dish in Dock Street. William Bradford, in Hanover Square, made and sold "all kinds of pewter dishes, tankards, tea-pots, and coffee pots."

In the homes of the rich and middle-class New Yorkers, the place of pewter was in the kitchen, where it was arranged on the dresser as shown in the illustration on page 160. This interesting piece of furniture came from the Skinner house in Perth Amboy. It is now in the kitchen at the Museum of the Colonial Dames at Van Cortlandt. Upon it stand some good pieces of blue and white china.

A great deal of pewter was in use in the early part of the century. Some of the wealthy citizens who owned plate, china, earthenware, copper and brass pos-

sessed also many pounds of pewter. In 1705, Captain William Smith's pewter was valued at no less than £20; and, as Cornelis Jacobs in 1700 had fifty-

Dresser and three-back and four-back chairs; in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames, Van Cortlandt. See page 159.

six pounds of pewter worth £2, we can form some idea as to the quantity owned by Captain Smith. Governor Burnet's pewter was worth as much as £100–2–6! Pewter dishes, plates, spoons, tankards and basins, were constantly imported all through our period.

The kitchen of a New York home frequently contained a mixture of English and Dutch utensils. A portion of the kitchen in the Van Cortlandt house appears on page 49. Although this is now a museum kitchen, a colonial cook would feel perfectly at home here, and would not be embarrassed in preparing a dinner with the utensils provided. Among the miscellaneous kitchen articles imported from time to time, we find "wafel irons," 1750; coffee mills, 1751; sugar-cleavers, 1752; corkscrews, 1752; bread baskets, 1760; polished copper chafing-dishes, 1760; copper tin kitchens with stands, 1763; baskets for plates and baskets for knives, 1765; and after 1760, japanned plate-warmers, "very necessary in this frigid climate." Then, too, we occasionally find some novelties. For example in 1779:

"Joseph Rose at No. 104 Water Street, a few doors east of Peck's Slip has just purchased a quantity of tinware amongst which are a large parcel of Despatches, very suitable for gentlemen of the army or navy and private families: they are worthy of the name of Despatches, as they will cook a beefsteak in about four minutes sufficiently to put on the table, having made the trial myself."

Braziers were numerous, as was natural enough when one remembers the great use of brass hearth-furniture and the various utensils of copper and brass that were used in the kitchen, to say nothing of warming-pans, candlesticks, bird-cages, etc. Most of the artisans came from London, and notwithstanding the fact that articles of brass, iron and copper were constantly being imported, a great deal of work was done in New York. For instance, in 1743:

"John Halden, brasier from London, near the Old Slip Market in New York, makes and sells all sorts of copper and brass kettles, tea kettles, coffee potts, pye pans, warming pans, and all other sorts of copper and brass ware; also sells all sorts of hard metal and pewter wares."

Notwithstanding the increasing demand for grates and stoves as the century advanced, the open wood fire never lost its popularity. We find another brazier as late as 1770, Jacob Wilkins at the Sign of the Brass Andiron and Candlestick, in the Main Street, offering "a few brass fenders plain and open work of different patterns."

An excellent specimen of the brass hearth furniture of the period appears on page 266. Nothing of its history is known except that it belonged to Betty Washington Lewis, the sister of Gen. Washington, and was in her home at *Kenmore*, Fredericksburg, Va. The shovel and tongs are placed on a stand with a marble block grooved for their accommodation. They are owned by Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis of Hoboken, N. J.

Boxes of glass, containing wine-glasses, salt-cellars, sugar-dishes, cream-pots and tumblers were sold by Edward Nicoll, on the New Dock in 1757. An advertisement of 1762 gives a good idea of the variety of articles of this nature that were to be seen on the tables of well-to-do citizens. This new importation consisted of "neat flowered wine and water-glasses, glass salvers, silver top cruet stands, a few neat and small enamelled shank wine glasses, flowered, scalloped and plain decanters, jugs and mugs, salver and pyramids, jelly and silly bub glasses, flowered, plain

and enamelled wine glasses, glasses for silver, salts and sweetmeat, poles with spires and glasses, smelling bottles, sconces, tulip and flower glasses of the newest patterns, finger bowls and tumblers of all sorts." Drinking-glasses of the period are shown on page 348.

The larger one, a goblet, standing on a square base, and cut with a festoon for ornament, belonged to Brigadier-General William Livingston (1723–1790), Governor of New Jersey. This is owned by his descendant, Mrs. W. A. Walker of Nyack, New York. The other, a wine-glass, which also has a square base, is owned by Miss Anne Van Cortlandt, of Croton-on-the-Hudson, New York. The two glass salt-cellars in the illustration on page 164, are in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames at Van Cortlandt. A group of glass articles of this date on page 232 are owned by Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis of "Castle Point," Hoboken, N. J., and consists of decanters, sweetmeat glasses, so frequently mentioned among the importations of the day, four wine-glasses and a tumbler. The five last articles belonged to Gen. Washington and descended to Col. Edward Parke Custis Lewis. The tumbler in the centre is delicately engraved with deer sporting in a forest glade.

Glassware was used in New York very early. It frequently appears in the inventories, but is seldom described. Col. William Smith in 1709, had a case of Venice glasses worth £3; a large case and bottles, worth £3, and 3 large cases and bottles, £3. Joseph Bueno (1709), owned 3 glass cups. On Oct.

7, 1754, the following notice appeared in one of the newspapers:

"Thomas Lepper, storekeeper to the Glass House Company, sells all sorts of bottles from 1 quart to 3 gallons and upwards, as also a variety of other glassware. . . . All gentlemen that wants bottles of any size with their names on them . . . may have them made with all expedition."

This advertisement is interesting in connection with the illustration on page 348, upon which are

Table furniture of the period. See pages 155 and 163.

represented three bottles of the kind that Mr. Lepper was able to furnish. These, however, were made ten years later. The large bottle on the left bears the name and date "Sidney Breese, 1765." This is owned

by the Museum of the Colonial Dames at Van Cortlandt, New York. The madeira bottle, on the right, has the inscription "F. V. C. 1765" enclosed in a heart raised on the glass, and standing for Frederic Van Cortlandt.

The constant importations of decanters, castors with silver tops, "cruet" or "cruit" stands and "frames," tumblers and glasses for water, wine and beer, cream-jugs, syllabub and sweetmeat glasses, prove how abundantly glass was used on tables. A set of cruets in a plated stand now owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth appear on page 321. On the same page is a perforated cake-basket and an old soup-tureen.

The table furniture not only consisted of rich silver, china, and glass, but we note many small articles of luxury, such as nutcrackers in 1750; ivory nutmeg graters, 1753; tea-tongs and punch-strainers in 1759; finger-bowls in 1762; table-bells, 1767; and "steak-tongs and sugar-hatchets" in 1779. The fashionable New Yorkers thought it necessary to keep up with London styles in everything, even in such a small matter as cutlery. Cutlers' advertisements in the papers are many. They always make a point of assuring customers that they have, or will make, articles according to the latest London fashion. We find one Thomas Brown removing in 1743 from Hanover Square to Broad Street, corner of Stone Street, near the Long Bridge; and in 1752 "Edward Andrews, cutler, who served an apprenticeship to the famous Mr. Henry Jones of Sweethings Alley, by the Royal Exchange, London, arrived in this place last week in the *Irene*." He offered to serve people at his

Mahogany knife-boxes and spoon-case, owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth.

See page 167.

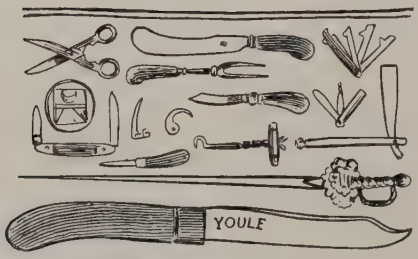
shop near the Merchant's Coffee House, and "sells and makes all kinds of Cutlery work in the newest fashions now in vogue in London." Among his choice goods, he calls attention to "the noted Constantinople Razor Cases and Strops." Specimens of the black-handled knives and forks ordinarily in use are shown on page 164.

Knives, forks and spoons were kept in shagreen cases, generally green, but sometimes blue; some of the handsomest of these were lined with red velvet from which the ornamental handles of silver, silver gilt, white or green ivory, or decorated china were shown off to advantage. The shagreen case came in very early in the century and continued in use until it was supplanted by the mahogany boxes of the same general shape. If we may judge from the following advertisement the latter began to appear about 1767:

"John Clark, shagreen case maker from London, next door to Mr. Seckell's, Cooper, in Ferry Street, near Peck's Slip Market, makes and sells all sorts of shagreen cases for knives and forks, both in shagreen and mahogany, and cases for Plate, Lady's Dressing-Boxes, Necklaces and Jewel Cases, Buckle cases and Razor Cases of all Sorts."

These cases, of course, contained a series of compartments, as shown in the example to the left on page 166, which also shows one closed and an urn-shaped spoon-case. The knives were placed with their handles upward. Cutlery was constantly changing in fashion; ivory-handled knives and forks, white split bone, buck and black handles were imported in 1750; china-handled knives and forks mounted in silver, in shagreen

cases, were sold by Reuben W. Thompson, in Smith's Fly, in 1752; "newest fashioned silver and ebony-handled table knives and forks in shagreen cases," in 1760; camwood-handled knives and three-pronged forks, in 1768; sets of knives, forks, and spoons complete in cases, in 1771; knife, fork, and spoon in a shagreen case for the pocket, in 1771; knife-trays in 1772; knife-cases of fish-skin, in 1774.



"James Youle, Cutler, at the Sign of the Golden Knife." (1774.)

PART IV

COSTUMES OF MEN

PART IV

COSTUMES OF MEN

I

THE MAN OF FASHION: HIS WIGS AND HATS

There is a general impression that people on this side of the water scorned dress and fashion in Colonial times, and that the beau was a type entirely unknown. It is erroneous. The people who frequented the balls and assemblies, routs, tea-gardens and coffee-houses of New York closely followed London fashions.

We shall presently see that men had every opportunity to procure fashionable clothes and to have them cut in the latest European styles. Even more convincing it is to find contemporary evidence of the existence of gallant and smart dress. Although the author of the following contribution to the *New York Mercury*, under date of Jan. 31, 1757, complains of the tyranny of fashion, his protests merely prove how universal was the fop and how unattractive the man who was "out of the mode." Incidentally, he gives us quite a correct idea of the fashions of the time and of what the woman of fashion demanded in the opposite sex. The writer did all he could to please her, even to the adoption of the "fierce Cave Nullo cock," which, of course, is the Kevenhuller hat de-

scribed on page 178, and resigned himself to the care of a fashionable hairdresser. He writes as follows:

"I am a bachelor turned of thirty, in easy circumstances, and want nothing but a wife to make me as happy as my neighbours.

"I have long admired a young lady who, I can with great propriety, call Miss Modish; though for her unreasonable conduct to me she deserves to have her real name exposed in capitals. She has a mind capable of every improvement and graces of her sex; and were it not for an excessive fondness for gaiety and the reigning amusements of the town, would be unexceptionably lovely.

"To this fair one I have most obsequiously paid my addresses for these last four years; and had I been a *Beau*, or she less a *Belle*, I should undoubtedly long since have succeeded; for fashions, cards and assemblies were the only things in which we did not perfectly agree. But whenever these were the subject of conversation, we were as certainly ruffled and out of temper. On these occasions she would tell me, 'She was astonished I would dispute with her, when every *genteel* person was of her opinion. *That one might be as well out of the world as out of the mode.* For her part, she could never think of managing a man who was so obstinately awkward and impolite, let his other accomplishments be ever so refined. I dressed like a clown, and hardly ever waited on her to a public diversion; and indeed when I did, she was in pain for me, I behaved *so queer.* She had no notion at her age, of sacrificing all the dear pleasures of routs, hops and quadrille for a philosophical husband. No, if I expected to make myself agreeable to her I must learn to *dress gallant* and be *smart.*' Now, truth is, I can't dance, and have an unconquerable aversion to foppery. In order to form me to her taste, Miss Modish has always most obstinately insisted on my complying with every idle fashion that has been introduced since my acquaintance with her, under the severe penalty of *never hoping for her love, if I did not implicitly obey.* This, with infinite reluctance and mortification, I have been

under the hard necessity of doing. I remember, when high brimmed hats were in the mode, she insisted on an elevation of my beaver of near half an inch with a fierce Cave Nullo cock. The taste changed, and she would hardly allow me enough to protect my phiz from the inclemency of the weather. My coat, when coatees flourished, was reduced to the size of a dwarf's, and then again increased to the longitude of a surtout. The cuffs in the winter were made open, for the benefit of taking in the cool north weather; in the summer again they were close, to prevent the advantage of the refreshing breeze. In the summer, I was smothered with a double cravat: in the winter, relieved again with a single cambric neckcloth. It would be tedious to repeat the many surprising and ridiculous changes I underwent in the outward man; let it suffice to observe that my wigs, ruffles, shoes, and every little particular, not excepting my breeches, have shared the same unaccountable metamorphosis, all which grievous foppery, my excessive fondness for her made me suffer with Christian resignation; but at last she has fairly exhausted my patience, and we are now come to an open rupture, the occasion of which was this: We unhappily fell into the old topic of my want of taste and breeding. '*You will always*,' says she, '*be an old-fashioned creature*.' (I had unluckily called her *My dear*). 'Lord, can't you take pattern

Miniature of Lewis Morris (1641–1746), owned by Mrs. Ostrander. See page 176.

after Mr. Foppington? How happy must a lady be in such an admirer! He's always easy and good-humoured, and pays the finest compliments of any gentleman in the universe! How elegantly he dresses! And then he sings like an angel and dances to perfection; and as for his hair, I never saw anything so exquisitely fine. Surely the hair is the most valuable part of a man!'

"From this teasing introduction, she took occasion to insist on my wearing my hair; observing that I could not refuse it, since I saw how pleasing it would be to her. I used all the arguments I could to divert her from this unreasonable request; but she peremptorily declared she would never speak to me again if I denied her so small a favour; it was an insult on the prerogative of her sex and a convincing proof that I neither loved her, nor merited her esteem. I remonstrated, in vain, that even if I was inclined to *play the fool*, and put my head, which as it happened I could not well spare, into the hands of Monsieur Piermont, I was well assured that all the skill and industry of that eminent artist would never change it from its native red, or form a single curl, for that ever since I was six years old, it had been condemned to be close shorn, as incapable of affording a creditable covering to my pericranium. In a passion she desired never to see me more: she would not put up with such contradictions in any gentleman who pretended to be her admirer."

The dressing-table of the gentleman of the period was equipped with every article of the toilet known to-day, and with a vast array of cosmetics, essences, oils, butters, pomatums and powders, with which the most fashionable man of the present day is unfamiliar. The latter, however, would not scorn "the complete set of shaving utensils in shagreen cases," "the shagreen two and four-hole razor cases completely filled," that could be bought from James Wilmot at the Golden Fleece, Hanover Square, nor the "complete shaving equipages, holding razors, scissors, hones, pen-

knives, combs, oil-bottle, brush and soap box, with places for paper, pens and ink." These were made of japanned ware, straw, red, or blue Morocco, or shagreen. "Fish-skin razor cases" were also to be had, as well as "nail nippers," "neat Morocco tweesc cases," and boxes for wigs, wig-ribbons, cravats, hats, etc.

Dressing was as serious an occupation for men as for women. The man of fashion spent a great deal of time upon his toilet and then upon his self-adornment, and what was true of the beau, was, to a great extent, true of every man of affluence and position. The arrangement of the wig alone consumed a great amount of time; for the gentlemen, unlike the ladies, had their hair dressed every day. Some of them put their curls up in papers at night and used curling-tongs the next day. The barber, of course, was required, for what man could have arranged upon his own head any one of the varieties in fashion in 1753, such as the pigeon's wing, the comet, the cauliflower, the royal bird, the staircase, the ladder, the brush, the wild boar's back, the temple, the rhinoceros, the corded wolf's paw, Count Saxe's mode, the she-dragon, the rose, the crutch, the negligent, the chancellor, the cut-bob, the long bob, the half natural, the chain-buckle, the corded buckle, the detached buckle, the Jansenist bob, the drop wig, the snail back, the spinach seed, and the artichoke?

On Oct. 22, 1753, John Bury, at the Crown and Shears, in Beaver Street, announced that he had imported "a neat assortment of hairs of all sorts for perukes," and in 1754, we read:

"This is to inform all Gentlemen and Ladies who have honoured Mr. David Cox with their custom that the same business is now carried on at the same shop next door to the Kings Arms Tavern and opposite the Royal Exchange, by Timothy Powell, hair-curler and peruke-maker from London, who has just imported an assortment of English hairs; where all Gentlemen who are pleased to favour me with their orders, may have all sorts of perukes, viz. Tyes, bags, drest or cut bobs at the most reasonable rates and made in the genteelest and newest fashion. . . .

"N. B. Ladies Tates and towers made in the genteelest and newest manner."

Previous to this date, the wigs had been the full-bottomed, the tie, or Ramilies, the bag and the bob wigs, major and minor. The full-bottomed is that of the flowing curls familiar since the days of William and Mary and Queen Anne, and which is worn by Col. Lewis Morris on page 173. This was out of fashion by 1739.

The Ramilies,* invented by some enterprising barber after the Battle of Ramilies (May 23, 1706), consisted of a bushy head, well powdered, arranged at the back in a braided pig-tail or *queue*, and tied at the top with a large bow of ribbon and at the bottom with a smaller one. The bag-wig is thought to have had its origin with the French servants who tied up their hair when they were doing their work.

Gentlemen's bags were always of silk or satin. This style was much affected by doctors and lawyers.

About 1774 it was said that a small man's shoulders were "perfectly covered with black satin." The

* A good example of the Ramilies wig occurs in Hogarth's *Modern Midnight Conversation* and *Taste in High Life in the Year 1742.*

bob wig was less ornate, being an imitation of the real head of hair, and it was worn by the common people; the major bob had several rows of curls.

During the reigns of George II. and George III., the bag and the Ramilies were, perhaps, the favourite wigs, but there was still another,—"the pigeon winged toupee," mentioned in 1753, which developed into the extraordinary Macaroni toupee, that was brushed erect about a foot above the forehead and plastered with pomatum. It was ornamented with large curls at either side and gathered at the back into a large club-shaped knot that rested on the back of the neck.

We may be certain that all of these styles were worn in New York, by glancing at a few advertisements. In 1750, we find the following:

"This is to acquaint the Publick, that there is lately arrived from London, the Wonder of the World, an honest Barber and Peruke-Maker, who might have worked for the King if his Majesty would have employ'd him: It was not for the Want of Money that he came here, for he had enough of that at Home; nor for the Want of Business, that he advertises himself. But to acquaint the Gentlemen and Ladies That such a Person is now in town living near Rosemary Lane, where Gentlemen and Ladies may be supplied with the Goods as follows, viz., Tyes, Full Bottoms, Majors, Spencers, Fox Tails, Ramalies, Tucks, Cuts and Bob Perukes; also Ladies Tatematongues and Towers, after the Manner that is now worn at Court. By their humble and obedient Servant, John Still."

Passing by many other eminent "artists" in the hair-dressing line, we may note the styles of 1761:

"To be sold at Duthie's London Peruke Warehouse all sorts of Perukes ready made of the newest Fashions, at the lowest prices that can be afforded by any one of the Business that does Justice to his Customers, and warranted to be of as

good Hairs and as good Work as any in America. Also Ladies' Teatts, Bandoas for the Hair, and Bags of the newest Fashion, Roapeats, Ramelleas, and hard and soft Pomatum, false Ques and many other Articles necessary in that Way."

We cannot take leave of the wig without describing the cocked hat, which remained in fashion until 1789. There were many varieties: indeed, a man was always known by the cock of his hat. The most fashionable was the one trimmed with gold lace and feathers; but hardly less so was the hat worn with the Ramilies wig and known as the "Ramilies cock." A plainer one accorded with the bag-wig, while the "Kevenhuller," extremely large and aggressive and decorated with a cockade, was worn by officers and gentlemen swaggerers:

> "When Anna ruled and Kevenhuller fought,
> The hat its title from the hero caught."

It long continued popular. The Nivernois was small, as was that affected by the Macaroni, and it had a small crown, to which small flaps were attached. In addition to these varieties, there was also a folding theatre hat. Hats were round in 1770, and in 1772 are described as "rising behind and falling before."

New Yorkers were just as fastidious about their head-gear as Londoners. Castor and felt hats, fine castor hats and gold laced hats were imported in great numbers, and in 1762 there was a special invoice of "gentlemen's superfine laced and plain hats dressed and cock'd by the most fashionable hatter in England." In addition to these, we find men's velvet caps, single and double striped worsted caps, flowered and plain scarlet caps, men and boys' castor and felt

hats, men's velvet morning caps, and velvet hunting caps constantly among the importations.

After the gentleman's hair was dressed and thoroughly sprinkled with grey or blue powder, heavily scented, there were other difficult tasks to perform.

Silver tankard, paste knee-buckles, gold seals, walking-stick and coat buttons, belonging to William Beekman; and a piece of rose-coloured brocade. See pages 137, 183 and 193.

One of these was the tying of his Barcelona or India muslin cravat, the adjusting of his stock and stock buckle, or the arrangement of his "solitaire,"—a loose black ribbon fastened to the bag-wig and brought around the neck in front. After scenting his plain or flowered silk handkerchief with some strong perfume, preferably musk, filling his snuff-box, fastening his sword to his side and taking his walking-stick or cane in his hand, he would tuck his beaver under his arm and sally forth to Ranelagh or Vauxhall Gar-

dens, to a public vendue, to pay a social call, to meet his friends at one of the coffee-houses, to look after his business affairs, or to make some purchases, if he had read some such tempting notice as:

"Rivington and Brown, in Hanover Square, have this day imported from London in the ships *Manchester* and *Edward*, Gentlemens laced and plain hats, dress'd and cock'd by the most fashionable hatter in England; genteel boots, spur leathers, and doe-skin boot straps with handsome buckles. The most beautiful double gilt pinchbeck buckles for shoes and knees; paper snuff-boxes finely painted and gilt; best Strasburg snuff and rappee; fine high dried snuff, commonly called Black Guard; shaving equipage containing razors, scissars, penknives, combs, hones, oil bottle, brush and soap box, with places for paper, pens and ink; elegant tooth-pick cases with best Lisbon tooth picks. . . . A choice assortment of jewelry, paste buckles, earrings, solitairs, necklaces, stay-hooks, gold rings, seals, broaches, gold buttons, ettwees, etc."

"Nesbitt Deane, Hats." (1774.)

II

THE CLOTHES MEN WORE

And now, if it be asked how our exquisite, who, until 1749, was known as a "Fribble," was dressed, we shall have to note that about 1727–1730 he wore black velvet breeches, a Ramilies wig, a coat that fitted very smartly and was buttoned tightly at the waist, trimmed with lace, and open from the neck to the waist to show the lace ruffles beneath it. He had an array of buttons, his sleeve was finished with a deep cuff, and his wrists were adorned with ruffles. His waistcoat was long, and adorned with buttons and flaps. His shoes were gay with red heels, his silk stockings had gold clocks, his hat was a cocked beaver, and he wore a sword and carried a cane decorated with tassels.

The clothes that Gov. Montgomerie wore conformed to the above in every detail. Among them were cambric ruffled shirts, dimity vests, a scarlet coat and breeches trimmed with gold lace, a cloth suit with open silver lace, silk stockings with clocks, a gold-headed cane, and several wigs.

A few years later, the coat had grown longer, reaching to the calf of the leg, fitting as tightly at the waist as ever, and just as profusely adorned with buttons. The cuff, now somewhat smaller at the wrist, reached to the elbow, and a broad collar turned

over and lay low upon the shoulders. The coat was still open, showing the ruffle or frill of the shirt.

About 1744, there was a slight change. The coat was no longer laced, although a plain band of lace was retained upon the still ample waistcoat. The skirts of the coat were lined with stiff buckram, or canvas, and stood out in rigid folds, and still fell below the knee. The stockings were drawn over the knee and just met the breeches, ornamented as before with glittering buckles. In 1753, a writer exclaimed :

"What gentleman now rolls his stockings? or lets his breeches cover the cap of his knee? Who suffers his coat-skirts to hang low enough to hide his thighs? or, who dare appear now with high-topped gloves? Are not, even on the stage, *full bottoms* discouraged? Nay, a Brigadier is as unseemly; the *scratch* usurps the throne of *long-bobs*, and a *tye-wig* is banished for a *pigeon-winged toupee*. But the hats—the hats, gentlemen, suffer most. Is not the *Dettingen cock* forgotten? the noble *Kevenhuller* discouraged? Are not hats brought down to caps? and ladies, who will exceed in extremes, disdain to wear caps at all."

At the beginning of George III.'s reign, our beau decorated his coat and waistcoat with a profusion of lace, and wore a small black cravat. Otherwise, his costume suffered no change. The costume of 1766 is well hinted at in Anstey's *New Bath Guide*, when Simkin dresses himself in the latest fashion. He writes home :

"For I ride in a chair, with my hands in a muff,
And have bought a silk coat and embroidered the cuff;
But the weather was cold, and the coat it was thin,
So the tailor advised me to line it with skin:
But what with my Nivernois' hat can compare
Bag-wig, and laced ruffles, and black solitaire?

And what can a man of true fashion denote,
Like an ell of good riband tyed under the throat?
My buckles and box are in exquisite taste,
The one is of paper, the other of paste."

The next and last change was a violent one. In 1770, the Macaroni appeared, whose style of head dress we have already described. He cut his coat much shorter and left it unfastened to show his waistcoat, also shortened till it reached the waist only. His two watches, with their dangling seals, hung from his pockets; and a large white neckerchief was tied in a full bow beneath his chin. The turnover collar of his coat was small. The latter fitted snugly and was ornamented with lace or braid, embroidery, frogs and sometimes tassels. His tight breeches of striped or spotted silk reached to the knee and were tied with bunches of ribbons or strings. Small paste or diamond buckles adorned his shoes, and his stockings, of course, were of silk. Upon his enormous toupee, was perched a tiny hat, which he removed with his cane when necessary. The latter was decorated with tassels. A sword also dangled at his side.

William Beekman (1725–1795). From a portrait in possession of the Beekman family. See page 193.

He was a very curious object and did not escape caricatures and lampoons of all kinds. The *Oxford Magazine* for 1770 said: "A kind of animal, neither male nor female, lately started up amongst us. It is called a *Macaroni*. It talks without meaning, it smiles without pleasantry, it eats without appetite, it rides without exercise." The type originated about 1770, when a number of fashionable young Englishmen who had made the "Grand Tour," formed themselves, on their return, into a club, which they named in honour of Italy's favourite dish. From the Macaroni Club they took their name, and they carried extravagance in fashion, in dress, and in manner to the verge of absurdity. In 1772–'3, they altered their costume slightly, combing their hair still higher above their foreheads in an oval shape, with large curls above each ear. They also wore knots of flowers upon their breasts.

Horace Walpole noticed them in 1772, fathering them upon Lord Clive. "Lord Chatham," he wrote, "begot the East India Company, the East India Company begot Lord Clive, and Lord Clive begot the Macaronis; and they begot poverty; and all the race are still living." Under date of Feb. 17, 1773, he said: "A winter without politics . . . . even our Macaronis entertain the town with nothing but new dresses and the size of their nosegays. They have lost all their money and exhausted their credit and can no longer game for twenty thousand pounds a night."

For a few years, everything was *à la Macaroni*, and the term was as familiar in New York as in Lon-

don. In September, 1771, we even find "The Macaroni Purse for £100" being run for by Mr. De Lancey's *Lath* and Mr. Waters's *Liberty*. The word was also adopted here as a *nom de plume*. The name is particularly interesting to Americans on account of the song beginning:

"Nankee Doodle came to town
Upon his little pony,
Stuck a feather in his hat
And called it Macaroni."

The story that this popular song is of Cromwellian origin is scorned by the best authorities on old English ballads, who hold that the word Macaroni establishes the date of the lines when the derisive words had peculiar significance, for the Macaroni was then a familiar figure.

Gentlemen in New York had every opportunity to keep up with changes in fashions. The tailors were a numerous body. In 1750, "Simon Smith, Taylor, from London, living at his shop at Mr. Joseph Delaplain's, joiner, in Smith's Fly, near the Fly Market, makes all sorts of Mens and Boy's Cloaths, lac'd or plain, likewise Ladies Habits and Riding Josephs in the newest Fashion."

In 1751, Joseph Reed, Taylor, from London, removed from Depuyster's Street to the Sign of the Blue Ball in Wall Street, and in the same year "William Anderson, Taylor, makes all sorts of laced or plain Cloaths in the newest Fashion as in London." In 1771, Ennis Graham is selling clouded silk waistcoat patterns richly embroidered and spangled, gold spangled frogs for clothes and "macaroni velvet."

Fashionable tailors in large numbers advertised clothes of costly and beautiful materials in large quantities, but space will not allow further quotations. In 1775, William Thorne gives a price list of the most sumptuous dress of the day. From this we learn that a plain suit superfine cloth cost £8–10–0; a half trimmed ditto, £9–0–0; full drest ditto, £10–0–0; coat and waistcoat, superfine cloth, £6–15–0; a suit best velvet, any colour, lined with satin, £38–0–0; suit figured Manchester velvet, £15–10–0; suit rateen trimmed with feather velvet and gold buttons, £21–0–0; pair silk velveret breeches, £2–0–0; single coat, superfine cloth, £5–0–0; plain suit second best cloth, £7–0–0; coat and waistcoat, ditto, £5–5–0; surtout coat, best Bath beaver, £2–15–0; plain cloth suit livery, £5–16–0; ditto, with shag breeches, £7–0–0; thickset frock and waistcoat, £3–16–0; and livery surtout coat, £3–16–0.

"To be Sold or Let." (1767.)

III

COATS, BUTTONS, SHOES AND GLOVES

HAVING spoken of fashions and of the tailors who made every effort to secure them promptly, a few specific examples of what some individuals actually owned will prove of interest. We can hardly wonder that the owner of the coat described below as lost in 1746 was anxious to recover it:

"Last night was taken out of a house in this city, supposed by a Mistake, a blue Broadcloth coat, with light blue silk frogs on it, with a double cape and silver Hooks and Eyes, the Binding on the right side is much wore." Ten shillings is offered and no questions asked.

In 1760 and 1763, we find two other announcements of stolen clothes that are descriptive of the articles. The first reads:

"Stolen from Jonathan Grimes of Second River in New Jersey, supposed by an Irishman named John Smith, a few days ago the following articles, viz. A light coloured Broad cloth coat with blue Lining, white buttons and button holes, two pair of Pumps, one pair of blue serge Breeches with white Lining, a white Shirt and a pair of large Brass Buckles." £3 reward is offered for the thief.

The second plea is as follows:

"Lent to a gentleman some time ago, a blue cloth surtout coat with metal buttons. As the coat has not been returned, it is supposed the gentleman forgot where he had it. This is to desire the gentleman to send it to John Crawley's, at the

New York Arms, whose property it is and it will be received with thanks."

The surtout, mentioned in the above advertisement, had been a very fashionable garment for some time. The hard-hearted Miss Modish, as we have seen, compelled her admirer to adopt one. The fashionable surtout that was worn in 1762–'3, had four flaps on each side called "dog's ears." The long cloak had not been abolished, however, even if the great-coat had won its way into popular favour. In 1760, the owner of one thus advertised its loss:

"Dropped from behind a Sleigh on 22 of December, between the hours of ten and eleven at Night from Windmill House to the Fly, a large Spanish Cloak of brown Camblet lined with green Bays, with a large Hood of the same almost ripped off, and ripped at the Seam on the right Shoulder. Whoever has found said Cloak, and will bring it to the Printer hereof, or to Mr. David Cox, Peruke-Maker, in Broad Street shall receive sixteen shillings reward."

In 1764, a gentleman lost "a brown camblet cloak lined with red baize;" and in 1765, another gentleman, "a large Spanish brown Camblet cloak lined with Green Baize, with a large Cap to it," for which he offered four dollars reward.

The wardrobe of an ordinary New York gentleman about 1740 consisted of a suit of blue broadcloth trimmed with silver, a suit of black broadcloth, a suit of camlet trimmed with silver, a fustian coat and breeches, a green coat and breeches, a new broadcloth trimmed with gold, three pairs of silk stockings, five pairs of worsted stockings, a pair of silver shoe and stock-buckles, a pair of brass knee-buckles, and three wigs. This was not excessive. Handsomer costumes

were sold at Moore and Lynsen's Vendue House in 1764, such as a suit of superfine white broadcloth trimmed with gold; a scarlet vest laced with gold; a suit of silk trimmed with silver; and a suit of superfine blue "trimmed with gold vellum holes."

White silk waistcoat embroidered in colours. See page 193.

On page 195 is shown a fashionable costume of about 1760, worn by Richard Ray of New York. The coat and trousers are of bluish green, with gold buttons, the waistcoat is white satin trimmed with gold lace. The stock, neckcloth and sleeve-ruffles are white. The portrait is owned by Miss Ellen King.

We may now turn to the unpublished inventory of the belongings of an officer in the Royal Americans,—Capt. T. Parker of the Fourth Battalion, who died in Martinique in 1762. He was the brother of Elisha Parker, mentioned on pages 302 and 303. This list includes: "1 red surtout coat; 4 cloath waistcoats; 6 pair breeches; 2 pair gloves; 1 pair leggins; 1 pair mackisins; 2 plain hats; 1 blue surtout; 1 muff; 1 pair silver shoe buckles; 29 shirts; 2 pairs linen

drawers; 18 nightcaps; 4 handkerchiefs; 6 white linen waistcoats; 2 flannel waistcoats; 5 pairs silk stockings; 13 cotton stockings; 13 worsted stockings; ½ doz. waistcoat buttons; 3 doz. white buttons; 1 sword belt; 1 pair leather gloves; 1 sash; 1 gorget; 1 silver mounted sword; 1 clothes brush; 2 shaving-boxes, and 1 shaving-brush."

And now let us pause to examine some of the more expensive materials that were imported by and for the tailors, omitting all such goods as fustians, camlets, friezes, sateens, serges, etc. It will be noticed that the button was of great importance, as it formed a trimming for coat and waistcoat, especially during the reign of George III., who was himself so fond of making buttons that he was laughed at in a satire called *The Button Maker's Jest-Book*. "Vellum-holes" were also used for decoration.

We find among the lists: New fashion buttons and mohair, 1732; silk camlets with silk and hair buttons to suit, striped linsey coats, Scotch plaid, snake-skin coatings, light and cloth-coloured sarsenet, silk and hair buttons, gilt buttons, 1743; worsted plad water'd grograms, scarf buttons, 1745; fine embroidered waistcoats, metal and gilt buttons, new fashioned coat and waistcoat buttons, fine silk and worsted patterns for waistcoats and breeches, silk and worsted waistcoats and breeches pieces, mens knit waistcoats, black and white stript lutestrings, and Turky Tabby buckrams, and breast and shirt metal buttons, 1750; black silk knit waistcoats and breeches, scarlet and black knit worsted waistcoats and breeches, Saxon green knit waistcoats, 1751; an assortment of

yellow and white metal buttons, 1752; gold and silver wire and mohair buttons, and death's head black vest buttons, 1754; coloured thread, metal, worsted, and death's head buttons, nankeens and breeches patterns,

Eighteenth century shoe, stock, and knee buckles, of gold and silver set with paste; watches, chatelaines, buttons and fobs; originals in the Museum for the Art of Decoration, Cooper Union. See page 254.

damask of sundry sorts for vests, black, blue, white, scarlet and crimson silk and worsted breeches patterns, black, blue and cloth coloured best Manchester velvet, Manchester velvet shapes for vests, gilt and plated buttons, silk twist buttons, gold and silver lace, silk and hair grogram and corded tabby, blue and crimson Genoa velvet, and remnants of velvet of all colours for caps and collars of coats, 1760; gold and silver buttons, best London gilt and plate buttons; three cord silk twist buttons, Prussian mold and basket buttons, 1760; crimson, scarlet and black silk breeches patterns, 1761; basket and plain gilt buttons, silk breeches patterns, 1762; plaited basket coat and vest buttons, 1764; blue and scarlet new-fashioned Bath coating, newest fashion gold, silver and metal, scarf, basket, death's head, mohair and other buttons fit for slop shops, horsehair buttons and other trimming for hatters, gold and silver shoulder knots, gold and silver shoulder straps, knee garters, blue, black, buff, crimson, scarlet and cloth coloured worsted breeches patterns, blue, black, buff, crimson, scarlet and cloth coloured silk breeches patterns, corded tabbies for men's vests, 1767; silk clouded vest patterns richly embroidered and spangled, gold spangled frogs for clothes, 1771; and royal ribbed and Macaroni velvet, feather velvet, figured Manchester velvet, 1775. In 1773, John Laboyteaux, tailor, promised "Any gentleman that chooses to have buttons made of the same cloth can have them worked with purl and spangles with any sprig or flower that they choose, as neat as those made in London." A handsome white silk waistcoat embroidered in colours

appears on page 189. It belonged to a Col. John Brown who died in 1781.

Steel buttons are shown on page 179. These belonged to William Beekman and were the same that trim the waistcoat he wears in his portrait on page 183. It will be noticed that he carries his cocked hat under his arm in the fashionable style. The shoes of the men, generally speaking, were like the women's, —with high heels, high vamp and buckles on the instep. In 1753, the beau wore :

> "A pair of smart pumps made up of grained leather,
> So thin he can't venture to tread on a feather ;
> His buckles like diamonds must glitter and shine—
> Should they cost fifty pounds they would not be too fine."

All through our period, there were importations of fine stitched pumps, neat channelled boots and pumps, turned pumps ; and double and single channelled pumps, and in 1763, Alexander Montgomery, at the Fly Market, next door to Mr. Brovort's, opposite to Mrs. Rutgers, offered "a parcel of greased leather double and single channelled pumps, stitched high heeled shoes and pumps of the very best sort, from fourteen shillings to sixteen shillings per pair."

The buckle was the important ornament of the shoe : these were of diamonds, paste, gold, silver, open-worked polished steel, pinchbeck, or black. The high top-boot with its upper part of light leather, was worn by huntsmen, and the dashing bucks and dandies of the day often appeared in them. Of course, spurs were fixed to them. These boots were worn by the officers, for, like the Kevenhuller cocked hat, they were distinctly military. There were nu-

merous shoemakers in New York, but probably not very many who had the courage to expose their patrons, as one of them does in 1749 :

"This is to give notice to the person who calls himself a gentleman of the city of New York, and who was pleased to send me so many messages concerning the making of his extraordinary shoes, that they are now done and finished, therefore pray him to come (tho' not without money) and fetch them, for as I have known him a bad paymaster some years, do not care now leather is dear, to let them go without, and as they are made the one larger than the other, on account of his sore foot, beg that he would not let them lie on my hands, lest I expose him more publicly."

Stockings were invariably of silk with clocks, and until the last years of George II. were rolled beneath the knee and kept in place by the garter and knee-buckles, which were similar to the shoe-buckles, but larger. Knee-garters were of silk. Cloth-coloured knee-garters appeared in 1760, and we even find among the goods that Mr. Stuyvesant advertised for sale in 1764 "ladies' and gentlemen's silk garters with mottoes." Large bunches of ribbons, or strings, decorated the knees of the Macaroni.

The shirt was always of fine linen, or cambric, and was frequently trimmed with a frill when a small cravat was worn. During some seasons the black solitaire that was fastened to the bag-wig was preferred ; at others, a stock and stock-buckle ; and, finally, in the Macaroni period, the style was to wrap oneself in a large neckerchief, which was tied in a bow under the chin. Specimen stock, knee and shoe-buckles appear on page 191 ; and a pair of paste knee buckles on page 179.

Ruffles always framed the wrists and these were often of rich lace. "Gentlemen's ruffles of blond lace" were sold by Nicholas Stuyvesant in 1764.

There were many varieties of handkerchiefs, such as plain and flowered, and those made of various kinds of silk. We meet with both Barcelona handkerchiefs and cravats.

Among the varieties of gloves we may note: "Men's and boys glazed kid and lamb, unbound and ribbon bound gloves" and "men's coloured welted mittens," 1751; "men's black and white silk gloves, black and white buck, shammy, and wash leather, shammy and best buckskin gloves," 1769.

Portrait of Richard Ray, painted about 1760. See page 189.

The jewelry consisted of knee, shoe, and stock buckles, watches with a bunch of seals (the Macaroni wore two watches) and rings. The men, of course, wore swords, and carried canes and walking-sticks and often umbrellas. The canes and walking-sticks were gold, silver, or ivory-headed, and in 1745 sometimes had small compasses fixed upon them. An ivory headed walking-stick that belonged to William Beekman appears on page 179, and other examples, with a sword, on page 263. "Umbrelloes of all sorts" were imported in 1761 by John Hammersly and Company, near the Coen-

ties Market, and in 1764 silk umbrellas were advertised.

The pocket-book was of red Morocco with silver clasps, such as the one lost at the Play House in 1761, or of shagreen with silver or pinchbeck clasps. Frequently in the pocket an essence-bottle was carried, and, of course, the snuff-box. The latter was of every variety : gold or silver, plain, chased or jewelled, set with precious or semi-precious stones, or paste, of tortoiseshell, of china painted and enamelled, and of French paper. A very handsome one was described on Dec. 5, 1748, as "a silver snuff box of an oval figure ; the lid, mother-of-pearl, with a shell carved upon it." A collection of tortoiseshell-boxes appears on page 376.

Although the period under review was essentially one of splendid attire and ceremonial robes, yet in New York, a democratic tendency towards a neglect of form was sometimes observable. As early as 1747, a writer who calls himself Thomas Trim speaks of the great uneasiness he feels when he observes the contempt with which the people sometimes treat their elective magistrates. The fault he said lay entirely with the latter, because they did not maintain the dignity of their office, but consorted with the lowest of the people. Another cause that contributed to the contempt of Corporation Magistrates was the robes they wore in the distribution of justice. Thomas Trim went on to say :

"To see an alderman sit or stand in the seat of Justice, and award the payment of 5*s* 6*d* to a person of his Ward that comes to him for relief, in the pompous robe of a greasy wool-

len cap and a tettered Banjam jacket, must certainly command the greatest respect, both to their knowledge and good manners. Yet I have seen one of these robed magistrates vouchsafe to powder his wig and put it on, without quitting his Banjam, to sup with one of the Ward upon the profits of his daily labour, provided the feast was graced with some good oysters, a pipe of tobacco and a mug of strong beer. I am not for becoming a slave to the fashion, or making dress the whole business of my life; though at the same time, I think every person that appears in public, clothed in authority, should be decent and clean. The people in general love show, and always pay a greater regard to a magistrate in his proper robes than when he thinks proper to appear in the dress of a smith, mason, or carpenter. I will venture to affirm, no magistrate ever lost a vote by putting on a clean shirt when he was dirty, or clothing the seat of his brain with a powdered wig instead of a dirty cap, or even by keeping of good Company."

The ship *Hope*. (1767.)

PART V

THE DRESS OF WOMEN

PART V

THE DRESS OF WOMEN

I

TOILET, PAINTS AND PERFUMES

It is very difficult to realize the extensive use the fashionable women of the Eighteenth Century made of cosmetics. A lady's dressing-table exhibited an extraordinary array of paste-pots, scent-bottles, jars of pomatum, bags of perfume, pincushions, boxes of rouge, powder and unguents, washes, *pastillios de Bocca* to sweeten the breath, and dishes, bowls and spoons for mixing the various compounds considered necessary to improve the skin, eyebrows, lips, hands and hair. One English satirist aptly remarked that it took a whole morning to put on what it took a whole evening to put off. In 1730, Swift wrote :

> "Five hours (and who can do it less in ?)
> By haughty Celia spent in dressing ;
> The goddess from her chamber issues,
> Array'd in lace, brocade and tissues."

The Lady Betty Modishes, Sir Fopling Flutters, Sir Courtly Nices, Lady Wishforts and Lady Teazles spent more than half their lives in dressing-rooms preparing to shine at assemblies, racquets, routs, card-parties, and theatres. No secret was made of the

laying on of artificial beauty, and, indeed, sometimes, while at entertainments, gay coquettes would retire to make the roses in their cheeks bloom afresh. Horace Walpole, after taking his beautiful niece, Lady Waldegrave, and her friend Mrs. Ashe to Vauxhall, jots down: "They had just refreshed their last layers of red and looked as handsome as crimson could make them"; and at the coronation of George III. in 1761, when he "dressed part of Lady Suffolk's head," he tells us that "Lord B—— put on rouge upon his wife and the Duchess of Bedford in the Painted Chamber. The Duchess of Queensberry told me of the latter that she looked like an orange peach, half red and half yellow."

Portrait of Mrs. Richard Ray (Sarah Bogert, 1728–1781). See page 228.

In the Georgian age, many women fell victims to over-indulgence in cosmetics. One of these was Lady Coventry, one of the beautiful Gunning sisters. Lord Harrington's daughter was another. The poet Cowper, condemning this practice in 1784, says if a London physician were allowed to blab, he "could publish a bill of female mortality that would astonish us." This use of cosmetics was carried to such extreme length, that, in 1770, an Act of Parliament was proposed prohibiting every woman, maid, wife, or

widow, no matter what age, rank or occupation, trying to entrap any of His Majesty's subjects by the aid of perfumes, false hair, or *crépon d'Espagne* (a kind of woollen stuff impregnated with rouge). The penalty was that any woman using these aids to beauty would be treated as a sorceress and dealt with according to law. Her marriage would also be declared void.

The favourite bloom in the days of Queen Anne was the "Bavarian Red Liquor" which was even "taken inwardly;" French red, Spanish red, Spanish paper, Chinese wool, and carmine were among the other rouges employed. Pearl and bismuth powders were popular; and the soaps were legion. "Wash-balls," composed of rice powder, orris, white lead, variously marbled, or coloured, were also numerous; and as for the waters and scents introduced or compounded by the famous Charles Lillie, their mere enumeration would occupy pages. One of the most popular was the "Princely Perfume" described as a delightful powder for the scenting of handkerchiefs, gloves, and linen, and which perfumed "the hands, the hair of the head and periwigs most delicately." Another was the famous "Hungary water," composed of rosemary, rectified spirits, and Jamaica ginger. Another was "King's Honey Water," by the use of which the Duchess of Marlborough was said to have kept the colour of her beautiful hair. Among other scents and waters, the favourites were: ambergris, musk, benjamin, bergamot, lavender, red spirit of lavender, attar of roses, sandal, citron, perfumed *cat-chué*, essence of jessamine, essence of orange flowers,

oils of rhodium, roses, lavender, cloves, rosemary, coriander, marjoram, cinnamon, orange-flower water, myrtle, rose and Cordova water, *eau de carin*, *eau de luce*, and *eau sans pareil*.

The beauties and coquettes, maids and matrons of New York, were no less eager than their London relatives to make themselves handsome according to the standards of the day. The milliners, the chemists, the hair-dressers and even the highly-respected printer and bookseller, Hugh Gaine, tempted them with every article that was to be found on London toilet-tables. These scents, waters, rouges, pomatums, hair-dyes, etc. must have met with a great sale since they were advertised among the goods in every cargo.

If we take a few instances of articles imported and recommended, it will be seen that this statement is not fanciful. The *eau de luce*, which Anstey numbered in his *New Bath Guide* in 1766 as one of the requisites every belle should carry with her to the fashionable watering-place, came in 1762 in "Bottles with cases, an excellent Remedy for the Head Ach, and very convenient for Gentlemen and Ladies to carry in their Pockets." *Eau sans pareil*, mentioned by Anstey, was here in 1761. In 1762, Hugh Gaine is selling "Princely Beautifying Lotion, so much esteemed for its general Utility by Persons of all Ranks in Great Britain and Ireland." Two years later, he described it more in detail and even recommended that it be "taken inwardly." His appeal to the vanity of the ladies is worth quoting:

"The Princely Beautifying Lotion. It beautifies the Face, Neck and Hands to the Utmost Perfection and is in the great-

est Esteem amongst Ladies, etc. of the first Quality. No words can sufficiently express its virtues, for it is not of the nature of paint, which puts a false unnatural gloss on the Skin, but is a true Remedy, that by its use really adds a Lustre to the most Beautiful by showing the fine features of the Face; and is so safe not having the least grain of Mercury in it, that it may be taken inwardly; and if smelled to, is really good against the Vapours, etc. in Ladies, the very Reverse of all other Remedies of this kind which raise the Vapours."

Long before this, however, we find fine lavender water and King's Honey water, constantly advertised, as well as Hungary water, Damask rose-water, scent-eggs, lip-salve, cold-cream, sticking-plaster, patches, court-plaster, pomatum, hair-dyes, marble wash-balls, powder-boxes and puffs.

In 1753, Barak Hayes in Bayard Street, was selling among other commodities, at the lowest prices, fine perfumes, marble wash-balls in cases, lavender-water, King's honey-water, Royal milk-water which took all spots, scurfs, pimples and freckles off the face, fine British oil for the gout and rheumatism, Greenough's tincture for preserving the teeth and gums, essence of bergamot, essence of lemon, good Capilier, Hungary water, soap-boxes and brushes for shaving, fine scented powder, tooth-powder and brushes for the teeth, lip-salve, tooth-pickers, patch-boxes, snuff, pomatum, etc. In 1754, we note all sorts of perfumes; "the right Persian soap in boxes for lathering the head and face with all sorts of brushes for the same; true French Hungary water; the very best double distilled lavender, nuns tooth-pickers, and double and single pins for the hair." Mint and pepper-mint water become popular about 1762.

In 1765, Thomas B. Attwood in Broad Street, had a long list of toilet and medicinal wares including, James's powders, Fraunces's elixir, Squire's elixir, Bostock's elixir, Blois's lozenges, Chace's balsamic pills, Pectoral balsam of honey, Hill's tincture of valerian, Jesuit's drops, Bateman's drops, Godfrey's cordial, Balsam of health, Boerhaave's balsam, Cold cream, Vitriolic ether for headache, corn plaster, Ryan's sugar plumbs, paste for the teeth, shaving machines, powder puffs, hair-powder plain and scented, grey powder for mourning, smelling-bottles, *Eau de luce*, *Eau sans pareil*, and such simple and compound waters as peppermint, Hungary, lavender, rose, orange flower, honey, bergamot, elder flower, Pyrmont and Spaw waters, oil of cinnamon, oil of nutmegs, oil of cloves, and Rhodium.

Portrait of Mrs. Pierre Vallete (Maria Jay, 1700–1762), owned by Mrs. Matthew Clarkson. See page 228.

For many years, the ladies and gentlemen of fashion patronized a chemist named Edward Agar, who lived near the Coffee House. Among his wares in 1765 were Royal Cream Wash Balls, Imperial ditto marbled, Ditto Cold Cream, or the Royal Cosmetic Beautifying Lotion and "Italian Red for the Ladies, which gives a beautiful florid Colour to the Skin, where Nature is deficient not to be distinguished from the

Natural Bloom of Youth." About the same time, there was a "Grecian Liquid for changing the hair from any colour to a beautiful black."

Hugh Gaine continued to sell similar articles during these years. In 1771, he imported:

"The Beautifying Ointment, which was sold by Dr. Constable in Chapple Street, some years ago with great success, in curing all carbuncles, pimples or cutaneous eruptions, rendering the face smooth and of a good colour, may now be had of the Printer hereof: 'Tis innocent and may be used with great safety by either sex."

He also advertised "Lady Molineux's Italian Paste for enamelling the hands and neck of a lovely white," and "The Venetian Paste," which rendered the skin "as soft as velvet," in 1774.

The following was a novelty and was doubtless purchased in generous quantities:

"Now first imported to North America. The Bloom of Circassia. It is allowed that the Circassians are the most beautiful women in the world. However, they derive not all their charms from nature. A gentleman long resident there in the suite of a person of distinction, well-known for his travels thro' Greece, became acquainted with the secret of the Liquid Bloom, extracted from a vegetable, the produce of that Country, in general use there with the most esteemed beauties. It differs from all others in two very essential points. First, that it instantly gives a rosy hue to the cheeks, not to be distinguished from the lively and ornamental bloom of rural beauty, nor will it come off by perspiration, or the use of a handkerchief. A moment's trial will prove that it is not to be parallelled."

It is to be hoped that the "Bloom of Circassia" was not identical with the "Balm of Mecca," which Lady Mary Wortley Montagu applied when she vis-

ited the East and which she said made her face red and swollen for three days. All through these years, many dressing-cases had been sold made of shagreen, morocco, straw and mahogany, well equipped with every needed article. Perhaps the most attractive was advertised in 1774, by James Rivington, who had "dressing-boxes for the toilet of Sacharissa" for sale.

G. Duyckinck, at the "Sign of the Looking-Glass and Druggist Pot." (1768.)

II

HAIR-DRESSING: CAPS AND HATS

THROUGHOUT the Eighteenth Century, the arrangement of the hair was eccentric. In 1711, Addison devoted an essay to the subject of the head-dress, declaring that "there is not so variable a thing in nature," and asserting that "within my own memory I have known it rise and fall above thirty degrees. About ten years ago it shot up to a very great height, insomuch that the female part of our species were much taller than the men." The witty satirist is, of course, referring to the commode, or fontange, that originated with Mademoiselle Fontange at the court of Louis XIV. in 1680. This head-dress, which was sometimes also called a "tower," was composed of two or three tiers of lace arranged very stiffly above the forehead and kept in place by a knot of ribbon behind. It was popular in England during the reigns of Mary and Anne. The hair itself was simply arranged, often in curls.

In 1729, "gauze heads" were very fashionable and, after a short period when a low coiffure was worn, the arrangement of the hair became more and more elaborate until George III.'s reign, when it developed into the complicated structure which remained in vogue until 1780, ever increasing in height and eccentricity. From 1749 to 1776, there were no fewer

than forty-one wig-makers and hair-dressers registered among the freemen of New York. The advertisements of several of these are given in the chapter on the costume of men. Not a few of them made a business of dressing the hair of the ladies and furnishing them with fashionable towers, *têtes* or heads, perrukes, etc. There was evidently much competition among these barbers for the patronage of the fair sex.

"Simon Franks from London makes and sells all sorts of perukes, after the best and newest fashion, cuts and dresses ladies' wigs and towers after a manner performed much better than is pretended to be done by some others." (1748.)

During this age, it was impossible for ladies to dress their hair themselves. The great erection on their heads had to be "composed" or built up with pads, cushions, puffs and curls before it was ornamented with lappets, gauze, lace, *poufs*, feathers, ropes of pearls or beads, jewels, ornamental pins and various fantastic gewgaws. With a plentiful supply of pomatum, powder and false hair, as well as crisping and curling tongs and pins, the barber "works all into such a state of confusion, that you would imagine it was intended for the stuffing of a chair-bottom; then bending it into various curls and shapes over his finger, he fastens it with black pins so tight to the head that neither the weather nor time have power to alter its position. Thus my lady is dressed for three months at least; during which time it is not in her power to comb her head."

As a rule, this head was retouched every day and anointed with strong essences. Every few weeks, it was taken to pieces and built up again. The descrip-

tions of "opening a lady's head" in the contemporary magazines do not bear quotation. Satirists found the lady's head a theme for attack; but their verses and essays had no effect upon fashion. *The Universal Magazine* in 1768 published the following stanzas to a belle of the day:

"When he views your tresses thin
Tortur'd by some French *friseur*,
Horsehair, hemp and wool within
Garnished with a di'mond skewer,

"When he scents the mingled steam
Which your plaster'd heads are rich in,
Lard and meal and clouted cream,
Can he love a walking-kitchen?"

This was published only a few months after the following had appeared in a New York paper:

"It is now the mode to make a lady's head of twice the natural size by means of artificial pads, bolsters, or rolls over which their hair is carefully combed, or frizzled to imitate the shock head of a negro."

In 1773, we gain a good idea of the appearance of one of these fashionable *têtes* in these lines:

"White as the covered Alps, or wintry face
Of snowy Lapland her *toupee* uprear'd,
Exhibits to the view a cumbrous mass
Of curls high nodding o'er her polish'd brow,
From which redundant flows the Brussels lace
With pendant ribbons too of various dye,
Where all the colours in the ethereal bow
Unite and blend and tantalize the sight."

Hannah More referred to this ridiculous fashion in one of her letters of 1777, and described eleven ladies who had among them on their heads an acre and a half of shrubbery, besides grass-plots, tulip-beds,

kitchen gardens, peonies, etc. She also says some of these head-dresses, with their decorations, cost hundreds of pounds!

Not only did the barbers and peruke-makers advertise everything that was needed in their line, but other people were constantly importing powders, pins, pomatums and essences. As early as 1734, Peter Lynch, near Mr. Rutger's Brew-house, had for sale "very good Orange butter; it is excellent for Gentlewomen to comb up their Hair with." Hair-pins, hair-bags, powder-boxes and puffs, wig-springs and brushes, hair-dyes, best grey powder for mourning, hair powder plain and perfumed, and pomatum came in great quantities in 1760–'1. We notice hair-fillets in 1764; tupee combs in 1765; and, if we turn to the milliners' announcements, everything that can be thought of in the way of ribands, beads, feathers, lace, lappets, gauze, aigrettes and ornaments of all sorts for the decoration of the monstrous "*tête.*"

This brings us to a consideration of hats, bonnets, caps and hoods of the period. These, naturally enough, varied in shape and style to suit the arrangement of the hair. The commode, which held its place during the reign of Queen Anne, was in itself a kind of cap and admitted no other covering upon the head. The hood was, however, very frequently worn and was susceptible of graceful arrangement. In 1711–'12 the *Spectator* humorously ordered: "All ladies who come to church in the new-fashioned hoods, are desired to be there before divine service begins, lest they divert the attention of the congregation." The ladies wore these when travel-

ling and frequently when walking in gardens and parks.

One of the favourite varieties of hood was the Nithsdale, worn for many years after 1715, particularly by elderly women. This got its name from the ruse of Lady Nithsdale in effecting her husband's

Green and blue silk calashes, in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames. See page 218.

escape from the Tower, in 1715, by dressing him in female clothes and wrapping her ample riding-hood around his head and shoulders. Hoods were still being worn in 1751–'3, as the following advertisement will show :

"Margaret St. Maurice, cap-maker, from London, informs her customers that she has removed from Mr. Bayard's Wharf to the house of Mr. Vandike, opposite the Old Dutch Church, where she makes all sorts of Men's, Women's, and children's Velvet and Silk Jockey Caps, do. Hats, Bath Bonnets, Hoods,

and Pullareens for Ladies in the most neat and fashionable manner as in London. She likewise makes Bags and Tossels for Gentlemen's Wiggs, also silk and velvet hats for Boys, all done at very reasonable Rates."

The pullareen was, of course, the *pèlerine*, a kind of tippet. In 1749, she advertises "masks for ladies."

In 1750, the horsehair hat was introduced and long remained popular. We notice importations of horsehair hats, black horsehair hats and black and white silk hats, in 1750; women's masquerade hats; black horsehair and Leghorn hats, women's capuchines, gauze snail shades with hoods, new fashioned gauze caps, hoods, ladies' paduasoy hats, bonnets, gauze caps, caps and ruffles made after the newest fashion, 1751; and coloured silk and horsehair hats, 1754.

The capuchine was a cloak with a hood, modelled on the garment worn by the Capuchin friars. It long continued to be popular, and was often made of beautiful materials. Simple straw hats modelled after those of milkmaids and shepherdesses in the affected rusticity of the day, Leghorn and chip hats, turbans, and brims without crowns, convenient for slipping over the increasing "head" of hair, now arrived in bewildering numbers. Every year, indeed, every season, brought some new style in trimmings. Sometimes it was a turban, with all its trimming piled on top of the crown; sometimes a chip or Leghorn with a low crown and a wide brim having a *pouf* and a spray of flowers and a bunch of ribbons with ends hanging down the back; sometimes, a beaver or castor; sometimes, a horsehair hat; and sometimes, a "shade."

The popularity of the chip hat was due to its adoption by the beautiful Gunnings, who drove London wild with their beauty. One of their rivals said all she needed to make her as charming as either of those lovely sisters was an "elegant cocked chip hat, with a large rose on the left side, and tied under the chin with cherry-coloured ribbons."

The varieties and names for the trimmings for both hats and caps are legion; there are ribbons plain and flowered, paduasoy, taffety and lutestring ribbons, figured ribbons, gauze ribbons and satin ribbons. Then there are plain and flowered gauzes of all kinds, black and white lace, and silver lace. It may be interesting to examine a typical assortment in 1754:

"M. Derham, milliner from London, by way of Philadelphia in the *Rachel*, Capt. Joy, at her shop near Alderman Livingston's in South Street, has brought a genteel and new assortment of figur'd ribbons, plain ducapes, satten do., gauzes, catgut, Paris net, white and coloured blond lace, silk edgings, thread do., striped and plain gauze handkerchiefs, Dresden ditto, aprons, ruffles both for gentlemen and ladies, French gloves, neat tanned, glazed and satten gloves, necklaces and earrings, fans, patches and court plaster, lavender, hungary and honey waters, Chip hats, French silks for capuchines, black silk laces and fringes, hollands, long lawns, clear flower'd and minionet ditto, fine book and other muslins. Likewise, an assortment of hosiery and haberdashery; fine green and bohea tea, ladies shoes, an assortment of cutlery, cards and ink-powder. Everything in the millinery way is made up in the newest fashion, such as lappet heads, caps, French handkerchiefs, ruffles, stomachers, ruffs, sleeve and glove knots, shades, capuchines, hats, bonnets, etc., at the very lowest prices."

About 1755, a very extraordinary decoration for the head was introduced. It appears to have taken

the ladies by storm and to have furnished caricaturists and satirists with some material for amusement. It was known as the *cabriole*, *cabriolet*, or *capriole*, and the best idea we can give of it is to refer to a contemporary number of *The Connoisseur*, in which there is a letter ridiculing the new fashion. This must have been more of an ornament than a head-dress, for the author, when looking at one of these equipages designed for the head of a lady of quality, placed it in the palm of his hand and remarked that he could not help fancying himself "Gulliver taking up the Empress of Lilliput in her state coach. The vehicle itself" he continued, "was constructed of gold threads and was drawn by six dapple greys of blown glass, with a coachman, postillion and gentleman within of the same brittle manufacture." A few current lines speak of it thus:

> "Here on the fair one's headdress sparkling sticks
> Swinging on silver springs a coach and six;
> There on a sprig or slop'd poupon you see,
> A chariot, sulky, chaise, or *vis-a-vis*."

"Shades lorrains," bonnets, and "hives" were advertised in 1757; and castor hats in 1760. In 1761, among the newest fashions in head-gear were stamped shades, trolly and catgut hoods, gauze caps, Chinese bonnets, felt hats, silk hats and bonnets, blown lace, French trimmings, and newest ribbons of *à la mode*, —blue, green, white, buff and figured. The cap that came into fashion about 1762 was the "fly," modelled after a butterfly. It was edged with semi-precious stones, more often paste brilliants or garnets. As it made a very bright frame for the face and head, it

was adopted with fervour and New York ladies could have procured it from the very prosperous milliner who made the following bid for custom :

"Elizabeth Colville, in Hanover Square, takes this method to inform her Friends and Customers that she intends carrying on the Business of a Milliner in all its Branches; having a young Woman just come over from England, who is well acquainted therewith, where Ladies and Gentlemen may be supplied with everything in the genteelest Taste and greatest Despatch.

"She has now by her a fashionable assortment of Caps, Ruffs, Handkerchiefs, Ruffles, Aprons, Muffs and Tippets, and sundry other Things in the Millinery Way, and continues the Business of Shop-Keeping as Usual.

"N. B. She has to sell a House and three Lots of Ground on the College Ground."

The "fly cap" is advertised among the goods of Nicholas William Stuyvesant in 1764, in which year we find that silk umbrellas, ivory fans, fancy stomachers, "egrets and breast-flowers," and "common sable, squirrel and feather muffs and tippets and ermine" are imported.

About this time, the flat hat was particularly admired. A contemporary remarks that it "affords the ladies that arch roguish air which the wingèd hat gives to Mercury ; it animates their faces with a degree of vivacity which is not natural to them." The arch, roguish air was exactly what the coquettes of the day affected, and naturally, the flat hat with its variety of ornaments was reluctantly given up. We still find the same ribbons, gauze catgut net, Paris net, silver and gold blond and bone lace, and paduasoy and lutestring ribbons ; but novelties were constantly invented

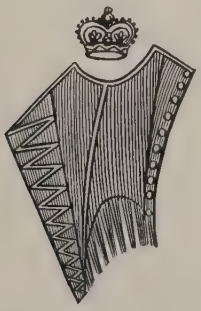
to tempt the purse and set off the charms of the fair. We may note the new importations of turbans, chip hats and bonnets, Italian head-dresses, new fashioned caps, Leghorn, Dunstable and fine chip hats, in 1769; feathers for riding hats in 1764; black and white feathers for ladies' riding hats, 1767; Italian and French flowers, 1767; and black and blue feathers, 1769. We must not omit the new and fashionable "calash," introduced by the Duchess of Bedford in 1765. This was an enormous hood, made something like the hood of a carriage. It was ribbed with whalebones, thus enabling it to fold, and it was tied with ribbons under the chin. A string was attached to the front, which the wearer could pull and therefore draw the hood over her head. The calash was only worn by the women of fashion with their enormous piles and towers of hair. Two of these remarkable concoctions appear upon page 213. One is of dark blue and the other of dark green silk. Both are lined with silk. Close caps, very much laughed at as night-caps, made with wings, appeared in 1773, and were considered very correct for undress.

Portrait of Mrs. James Duane (Maria Livingston), owned by Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox. See pages 218, 219.

An interesting and fashionable cap is worn by

Mrs. James Duane (Maria Livingston, born, 1728) in her portrait that is shown on page 218.

Feathers were in great demand in 1775, for the fashion came in to sweep the hair off the forehead and draw it high above the face. The back was ornamented in rolls and two curls were placed below the ears. Three large ostrich plumes were stiffly arranged upon the top of the head for full dress.



John Burchet, stay and riding habit maker, from London and Paris, at the "Sign of the Crown and Stays." (1773.)

III

GLOVES, SHOES, AND STAYS

Our colonial ancestors wore many varieties of gloves. We find among the importations from time to time: worsted and kid gloves, 1743; shammy and glazed gloves and silk mittens, 1750; women's and maid's black ruff gloves, white kid and lamb gloves, glazed kid and lamb, unbound and ribbon-bound gloves, and coloured flapped mittens, 1751; French gloves, black, white, and coloured silk mits, and neat tanned and glazed satten gloves, 1754; satten gloves, black silk mits, trimmed glove-tops, purple and black kid gloves and mits, and silk and worsted mits, 1761; and purple, black, white and cloth-coloured mits and gloves, silk, worsted, kid, and lamb's gloves, and black and coloured mits, 1769. In addition to these gloves worn for dress, there were "chicken skin" gloves made of a thin strong leather and dressed with almonds and spermaceti. These were worn at night to make the hands "plump, soft and white."

The laces and ribbons of the day have already been described with the hats and caps. We must remember that lace was used for ruffles which were an important finish to the sleeve. Ruffles were also made of the popular gauze and lawn, and were plain, checked, or flowered. "Dresden ruffles" for men and women were advertised in 1754. Gauzes, Paris net

and catgut came in colours, as well as in black and white; and lawns were clear, flowered, spotted, checquered, or of the kind known as "minionet." Handkerchiefs were of silk, lawn, satin, linen or gauze. We find them designated as flowered bordered, flowered Kenting, Barcelona, culgee, rosette, satin check, and also made of black and light-coloured gauze, of striped flowered and spotted lawn, of white with flowered borders, and with flowered and striped borders.

We must not forget to mention the important apron, which was often worn on dress occasions. This article became extremely fashionable in England during the reign of William III., when it was small and edged with lace. In the reign of George II. it was worn very long and, sometimes, was quite plain in comparison to that fashionable in Queen Anne's day. Then it was embroidered and ornamented with gold or silver lace and spangles. Beau Nash, the autocrat of Bath, very properly objected to the apron, and he forbade any lady wearing one to be admitted to the assemblies at Bath; for he said "none but Abigails appear in white aprons." For some unknown reason aprons lingered; and we find them in New York, just as we do in London, made of flowered and plain lawn, gauze, gauze with trollys (evidently a kind of lace) and finely flowered. In 1751, a New York lady offers a pistole reward for a lost "fine flowered muslin apron."

The belle of the Eighteenth Century paid much attention to the dressing of her feet. Owing to the shortness of her hoop petticoat, which subjected her to so much ridicule, her shoe was always visible, and

as long as the wide spreading skirt remained in fashion, the style of shoe or slipper changed but little. From the many examples contained in Hogarth's pictures, we are familiar enough with the slender, pointed toe, high vamp, large buckles and enormous heel,—the type that lasted from about 1753, when we read :

> "Mount on French heels when you go to a ball—
> 'Tis the fashion to totter and show you can fall"

to 1771, when a lady was described as wearing heels that were three inches and a half high.

These delicate and uncomfortable shoes—for the high heels pitched the body forward and forced the wearer to adopt a slow and mincing gait—were frequently embroidered with flowers on silk or satin and ornamented with a diamond, paste, or silver buckle. Again, they would be made of satin, figured silk, damask, calimanco, russell, or everlasting. London sent very handsome shoes to New York : rich gold and silver-point shoe-shapes and embroidered shoe-tops appeared in 1750, with the cheaper red and drab shoes, and women's and girls' damask, russell and everlasting shoes ; silk and stuff shoes were imported in 1751 ; women's leather shoes and pumps, 1760 ; women's satin shoes, 1761 ; and women's and maids' calimanco shoes and children's Morocco pumps, 1769.

There were several fashionable shoemakers here. In 1765, one announces : "Women's best silk, russell, callimanco and everlasting shoes made in New York, equal if not superior to any made in London, by James Wells." Another, was John Lasker, who lived in Bowling Green, next door to Mr. Samuel Bayard's ;

a third, was John Milligan in Beaver Street; and a fourth was Benjamin Burras, silk and stuff shoemaker in Broad Street, in 1773. Clogs and pattens, and goloshes and silk ear'd clogs appear in 1760.

Cloaks were worn all through our period. We find short cloaks, in 1751; scarlet drab and blue

French fan of the period, owned by Mrs. Henry Draper. See page 225.

cloaks, 1753; and women's fashionable short cloaks, 1754. The most popular of all were the capuchin, which, as we have already seen, had a hood, and the cardinal. The latter was a cloak like a cardinal's which the ladies began to wear about 1760. Sometimes they were very handsome, being made of buff, black, blue, and green figured modes.* Frequently we find special advertisements of capuchin and cardinal silks of all colours. Cardinal fringe and gimp were specially made to trim these garments. The cardinal was a kind of evening wrap. In 1764, we read:

* À la mode, a kind of silk.

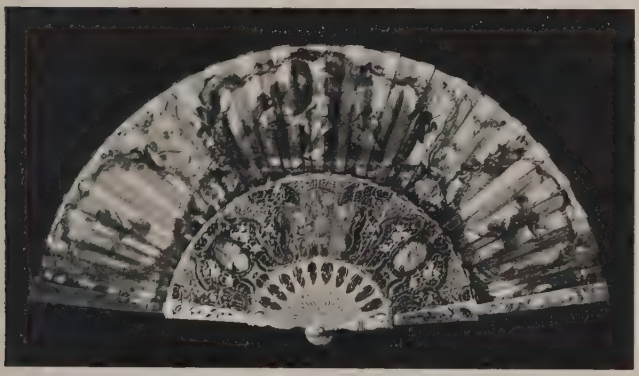
"Lost out of a sleigh last Tuesday evening, or taken by mistake from the Assembly Room, a new figured black satin cardinal with spotted black and white fur trimmings. Likewise, lost at the ball at Mr. Francis's a plain black satin cardinal with figured brown and white fur trimmings, somewhat worn."

In 1774, fashionable cloaks were of sage green and light brown trimmed with ermine.

Among the miscellaneous articles, were fans and girdles, 1732; nonesopretties, 1743; bone and coco stick fans, fine silver tippets with French flowers, a rich silver net shape, cauls, and silk belts, 1750; velvet masks, black patches, and an assortment of fans and necklaces, 1751; Paris net and catgut pompoons, bugles, bugle stomachers, painted bone and ivory stick fans and black velvet masks, 1754; enamelled snuff and patch-boxes, 1760; ivory stick fans and fan-mounts, 1761; china, silver, snuff and patch-boxes, 1761; tortoiseshell pocket-books with ivory leaves lettered, 1762; muffs and tippets, tortoiseshell, horn and ivory combs, black feathers, all sorts of Italian and French flowers, velvet collars, Italian head-dresses, and plumes and breast flowers, 1767; ostrich feathers for riding-hats, Italian breast flowers and plumes, great variety of ivory fans, smelling-bottles, ivory bodkins, green silk purses, crystal bosom buttons, fringe, black and blue feathers, skeleton and cap wire, and fashionable fans, 1769.

The fans of the period were almost invariably of beautiful design. The sticks were of carved wood, or ivory; sometimes they were imported from the Orient. The mount was of vellum, silk, gauze, or paper, and beautifully painted. Nearly every conceiv-

able subject was thought appropriate for its decoration, from pastorals, *fêtes-champêtres*, classical figures, mythological fancies, allegorical conceits, emblems, scenes from operas and plays, royal marriages, christenings, and victories to caricatures and portraits. There were also fortune-telling fans, riddle fans, calandar fans, etc. Two handsome French fans of the time, belonging to Mrs. Henry Draper, are shown on page 223 and below. Another, from the Museum in Cooper Union, appears on page 263.



French fan of the period, owned by Mrs. Henry Draper. See this page.

Throughout our period, woman was very particular about her figure. She felt it necessary to conform to the fashionable shape, which, generally speaking, was a long narrow bodice very tightly laced. Young girls and portly matrons alike squeezed themselves into the stiff cases of whalebone, or buckram, or sometimes steel, that could produce the desired form. In 1734, stays were extremely low, but fashion decreed

that the position of the waist should vary every few years, and stays were sometimes worn outside. Staymakers were constantly arriving from London with the latest fashions, and every change in shape was quickly followed.

In 1764, "Joseph Beck, staymaker, who served his apprenticeship with Mr. Samuel Panton of Dublin, and for several years wrought with several of the most eminent Masters in London and Bath, removes to Smith Street, and makes "English, French turn'd and Mecklenburg Stays and Jumps, in a new easy Method that's now used in London, Children's Coats and Slips. Ladies that reside in the Country by sending their Measure or the Lining of their Stays, may depend on having their commands executed with the greatest Care and Despatch." A little later, he assured his patrons that he would "always make it his constant Care to have the newest Fashions early from London." As a proof that they did get the newest shapes, we may note that in June, 1765 McQueen "has a quantity of the newest fashioned diamond cut bone stays; they were made in London since the beginning of December last."

In 1767, John McQueen called himself "staymaker, at the Sign of the Stays." He has "a fresh assortment of new fashion'd stays, children's pack thread stays from one to eight years old, children's bone stays from one to twelve years old, women and maids' stays of different sorts and sizes, a few neat polished steel collars for Misses, so much worn at the boarding schools in London."

At this date, stays were as tight as ever; but were

high behind and low before, and the figure was carried with a peculiar fall of the shoulders and elevation of the bust. Young girls were taught to hold themselves very stiffly, and frequently a long needle was stuck uprightly in the front of the dress, so that if the head was bent over too far, the needle would pierce the chin. The "steel collars" mentioned above were, in all probability some device of this nature. Much attention was paid to the holding of the body and the rigid attitudes of the portraits were not at all uncommon positions.

Portrait of Catharine Elmendorph (1747–1787), painted in 1754, owned by Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox. See this page.

It is noticeable that these stay-makers fashioned children's clothes, but did not seem to undertake any other outside garments for ladies save jumps, a kind of sleeveless coat, and "Mechlinburg waistcoats."

A very interesting child's costume appears on this page, in a portrait of Catharine Elmendorph (1747–1787) painted in 1754. The dress is brown and the stomacher white.

The bodice was cut to fit tightly over the stays; and was low both back and front for evening dress, and often high in the back and square in the front for ordinary dress. Lace, or gauze, ruffles frequently

framed in the neck and ornamented the sleeves. An excellent idea of a typical dress in George II.'s reign appears on page 297.

The stomacher was an important adjunct to the bodice. We find it sometimes of stiff linen like the one that Mrs. Vallete wears on page 206. Stomachers were of gold and silver; there were bugle stomachers (glass beads); white dimothy stomachers; and many others. In front of the bodice was hung the "stay-hook" upon which the watch or *étui* was hung. This frequently appears in the jewellers' lists. There were also breast-flowers, pompons, crystal bosom-buttons, breast-buckles, and many other articles that adorned the front of the dress, and very often a bow of ribbon was worn, as in the portrait of Mrs. Ray on page 202, who is dressed in a sea-green satin gown. This portrait was originally in the King Mansion at Jamaica, L. I. Some of Mrs. Ray's silver appears on page 138.

"Milligan's Woman's Shoe Store." (1768.)

IV

HOOPS AND MANTUA-MAKERS

From the beginning of the Eighteenth Century until 1789, the most distinguishing feature of woman's dress was the hoop. It was so large in Queen Anne's time, that no-one could imagine it increasing in size. However, despite the caricatures and the protests of the satirists, hoops continued to distend. In 1746, Mrs. Delany wrote: "I expect soon to see the other extreme of thread paper heads and no hoops, and from appearing like so many blown bladders, we shall look like so many *bodkins* stalking about." But Mrs. Delany's prophecy was not fulfilled until sixty years later.

The hoop was really a great bell-shaped petticoat, or skirt of the dress, stiffened by whalebone. The material was placed directly upon it, so that being a part of the gown itself, it was quite correct to speak of it as a damask hoop, or a brocade hoop. Of course, there were simple petticoats for every-day wear; but, as a rule, the hoop was made of rich flowered brocade, silk, satin or velvet. The great expanse of the hoop showed off the rich and heavy materials of the day; and certainly the ladies must have made a ball-room look very brilliant in these rich clothes.

It may be interesting to examine some of the goods for sale in the Georgian age in New York, re-

membering that the damask was a rich material that came originally from Damascus; Persian was a thin silk much in vogue for linings; taffety, or taffetas, also a thin silk, generally changeable; poplin, silk shot with worsted; sarcenet, a thin silk; lutestring, a fine corded silk; alamode (or mode) a plain silk something like lutestring; paduasoy, a smooth silk, originally made in Padua; ducape, a corded silk; russell, a woollen cloth; callimanco, a glazed linen stuff. Certainly the ladies of the period had a large selection. The articles upon the following list arrived from 1732 to about 1769 in increasingly large quantities:

Piece of wedding-dress of Mary Van Cortlandt, who was married to Peter Jay in 1727; owned by Mrs. J. R. Matthews. See page 235.

Broadcloths, callimancoes, silk and worsted camlets, mourning crapes, English damasks, India damasks, China taffeties, plain, striped and flowered Persians, Cherryderries, ginghams, grograms, satins, churconnies, Soofeys, Atchabannies, mohairs, muslins, fine Spanish cloths, 1732; Venetian poplin, allapeen, worsted damask, Indian dimities, muslins, bandannuses, chelloes, light and cloth coloured sarcenet, striped dimity, printed camlets, watered grogram, worsted damask, 1743; striped satins, and silk

poplin, 1745; Irish silk poplins, satin stripes, silk cords, Turkey Tabby, buckrams, silk and cotton gowns, cotton Erminetta gowns, white sarcenets, white, black, brown, lemon, blue, plumb and pink coloured ½ ell and ¾ wide lutestring, green, blue, and pink coloured English damask, white watered tabby, black alamode, blue, brown, and black rich paduasoys, white and pink coloured ducapes, fine flowered russells and damasks, fine china printed linen gowns, Genoa silks, English damasks, ducapes, mantuas, striped lutestrings, watered and flowered tabby, changeable taffeties, brocades, and black Persian watered grograms, 1750; lemon coloured paduasoy, 1751; yellow paduasoy, green ducape, black velvet, scarlet and Saxon blue flowered damask, striped callimancoes, Hungarian stuff, fine striped poplin, 1752; plain and watered tabby, figured black, blue, pink, green, and white peelong satins, 1760; rich yellow and white satin, 1764; green, blue and pink satin, straw-coloured brocade, beautiful striped and figured lutestring, satins for cloaks and gowns, peelongs and modes, black and brown peelong, satins, figured sarcenets, Saxon green and red naps, brown, blue, and scarlet new-fashioned Bath coating, blue and scarlet German serges, paduasoy, ducape, lutestring, mantua and armozine silks, black, white, drab, green, crimson and sky-coloured satins and peelongs, flowered satins and figured modes, blue, green, brown, drab, Tyrian and pompadour broadcloths, crimson Aurora cross-barr'd and plain camlets, a variety of figured sarcenets, black and cloth-coloured peelong satins, scarlet, blue, green, black, brown and mixt broad cloths; blue cloth for women's wear, scar-

Eighteenth-century cut glass, originally owned by Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis ; now by Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis.

See page 163.

let, blue, claret colour and grey mixt Bath beaver coatings, scarlet and blue silk and worsted cord for cloaks; blue, red, green, yellow, brown and embossed serges; plain Venetian, striped and flowered poplins, black taffeties, satin pelong, Persians, taffeties, sarcenets, paduasoy, ducape, lutestring, mantua, armozine silk, black, white, drab, green, crimson and sky-coloured satin and peelongs, flowered satins and figured modes, and fine moreen, loretto, and silk damask for jackets, and Manchester and Genoa velvets, 1769.

In addition to these beautiful lutestrings, paduasoys, alamodes, mantuas etc., the ladies of the Georgian court wore much silver and gold brocade and rich silks embroidered in gold and silver. In 1739, the Duchess of Bedford had a green paduasoy, heavily embroidered in gold and silver; Lady Dysart, a scarlet damask, worked richly with gold; Lady Percival, a white satin, embroidered in gold and silver; and, in 1740, Mrs. Delany describes a dress she greatly admired, which the Duchess of Queensberry wore at a reception. The material was white satin embroidered:

"The bottom of the petticoat was brown hills covered with all sorts of weeds, and every breadth had an old stump of a tree that run up almost to the top of the petticoat, broken and ragged, or worked with brown chenille, round which twined nasturtiums, ivy, honeysuckles, periwinkles, convolvuluses, and all sorts of twining flowers, which spread and covered the petticoat. Vines, with the leaves variegated, as you have seen them by the sun, all rather smaller than nature, which makes them look very light: the robings and facings were little green banks with all sorts of weeds, and the sleeves and the rest of the gown loose twining branches of the same sort as those on the petticoats: many of the leaves were finished with gold, and part of the stumps of the trees looked like the gilding of the sun."

On the birthday of George II., one of the Princesses Royal wore a white paduasoy embroidered with gold; another, a pink damask worked in silver.

Portion of embroidered lutestring worn by Mrs. William Smith, at a ball at Fort George. See below.

Occasionally, some of these rich materials were seen in New York. On this page appears a portion of a

dress that was worn by Mrs. William Smith (the wife of Judge William Smith) at a ball given at Fort George in honour of the birth of the prince who became George III. The silk is a heavily corded, pinkish lilac. It is richly embroidered with wreathing pink and red roses and bows of ribbon. At regular intervals, the three Prince of Wales's feathers are heavily worked in silver and raised nearly an inch above the silk. The lace in the same illustration was worn with the dress. These valuable relics are owned by Mrs. W. W. Shippen of New York.

On page 230 a simpler piece of brocade is shown. This represents red roses with their green leaves and buds or seed-pods upon a white ground. It is a sample of the wedding dress of Mary Van Cortlandt, daughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt of Yonkers, who was married to Peter Jay in 1727. This belongs to a descendant, Mrs. John Rutherford Matthews of Van Cortlandt Manor, Croton-on-Hudson. Two other bits of old brocade, belonging to Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox and Mrs. French Ensor Chadwick, appear on page 273. The former is cherry-coloured, with the figure of a white carnation, and belonged to Mrs. Henry Bowers. The second, which has been fashioned into a reticule, was worn by Mrs. Samuel Jones of New York. It is white with gay flowers.

Later in the century, thin materials sprigged with silver were worn. Two old dresses appear on pages 238 and 242. The first belonged to Mrs. William Smith. The other dress was the property of Mrs. Theodorus Van Wyck Graham of Albany, and is owned by her descendant Mrs. C. E. Orvis of New York.

The large flowered brocades were copied in cheaper goods, which were also valued.

The constant succession of attractive goods exhibited in New York shows how the ladies found one of their diversions in shopping. Sidney Breese was one of those who always published an attractive advertisement. He evidently knew just how to appeal to feminine taste. He began airily enough in 1761 :

"Looking-glasses upon Looking-glasses, Pictures upon Pictures, rich brocades gaily flowered in the newest Taste, flowered Tabbies, English Damask, Paduasoys and Ducapes of various Colours, rich black, blue, yellow, green, pink, and white peelongs, cardinal silks, striped and plain Lutestrings, changeable Mantuas, watered Tabby ribbons, black velvets, gauze handkerchiefs, India damasks and Taffeties, a large assortment of Irish linnen lawns, long lawns, cambricks, worsted hose, broadcloth, with a variety of Persian fashioned carpets."

Josiah Vavasor, in 1761, sold "black and white gauze, gauze caps, ruffs, and handkerchiefs, Roman cloaks, round hats of all colours, children's of all sizes, Jockey caps and feathers, earrings and necklaces, China and silver snuff and patch-boxes, seals, stone buttons and buckles, pangs and a variety of the newest Fashion ribbands, black, white, buff, blue, green and figured modes, ivory stick fans and fan-mounts, all sorts of laces, edging, and footings, French trimmings, gimps of all kinds, black and white Persian, neat black Barcelona handkerchiefs, purple and black kid gloves and mits, silk and worsted mits, children's worsted morocco shoes, best black satins and peelongs, chintz and cottons, and a variety of other goods."

One ardent shopper acquired fame in 1754 :

"Last week, a woman named Hannah Davis began to display her ingenuity in this city by going into shops and after buying a trifle would always give a dollar to change and whilst the change was procuring would pick up the dollar, persuade the people of the shop she gave it them, and so carry off the goods, dollar and change, but being negligent in her business was at length detected and publicly whipped for the same. This not being sufficient to deter her from following a business in which she thought herself so great a proficient, began again on Saturday last, in the market, and in changeing her dollar with a countryman found means to convey a two shilling piece into her mouth, but the man perceiving the fraud, seized her, and endeavouring to take the money out of her mouth, she bit his fingers in a terrible manner, for which she is now confined in gaol."

Fashionable tailors made ladies riding-habits and josephs, or jackets. Mantua-makers also made all sorts of loose garments, cloaks, cardinals, capuchins, etc., and sometimes they included a few articles for gentlemen. For instance, in 1757:

"Mary Wallace and Clementia Ferguson, just arrived from the kingdom of Ireland, intend to follow the business of mantua-making, and have furnished themselves from London in patterns of the following kinds of wear for ladies and gentlemen and have fixed a correspondence so as to have from thence and London the earliest fashions in miniature. They live at Mr. Peter Clarke's, within two doors of William Walton's, Esq., in the Fly. Ladies and gentlemen that will employ them may depend on being expeditiously and reasonably served in making the following articles, that is to say, Sacks, negligées, negligée-night-gowns, plain night-gowns, pattanlears, shepherdesses, roman cloaks, cardinals, capuchins, dauphnesses, shades lorrains, bonnets and hives."

The sack, or *sacque*, was introduced about 1740, and was a wide loose gown that hung from the shoul-

ders to the ground and was gathered in folds over the great hooped petticoat. The night-gown, mentioned above, was not the garment that we know by that name; the word was used in the Georgian period for evening dress. In 1737, the Countess of Shaftesbury remarked that Lady Ranelagh had on at her wedding "a straw-coloured night-gown with silver and colours that was extremely pretty, which cost thirty shillings a yard."

Gown sprigged with silver, originally owned by Mrs. William Smith. See page 235.

The *negligée* was a loose open gown that became popular about 1750. A London lady lost her trunk in 1751, and described "a scarlet tabby *negligée* trimmed with gold, a white damask *negligée* trimmed with a blue snail blond lace with a petticoat of the same, and a silver brocade *negligée* trimmed with pink-coloured silk," among the contents. The hive was a straw-bonnet shaped something like a bee-hive.

The advertisement on page 237 is further interesting on account of an item that must not be missed. The Fergusons say that they have arranged to get from Ireland and London "the earliest fashions in miniature." At this period and for many years before, it

had been the custom to dress dolls in Paris in the latest style and to send them abroad. In 1727, Lady Lansdowne sent to one of Queen Caroline's Ladies of the Bedchamber, "a little young lady dressed in the Court dress, which I would desire you would show to the Queen, and when she has done with it, let Mrs. Tempest have it." Mrs. Tempest was a milliner. In 1763, the famous hair-dresser, Legros, exhibited in Paris thirty dolls wearing his latest arrangements of coiffure, and in 1765, no fewer than a hundred small puppets showed the new fashions in head-dress.

One cannot fail to notice the constant mention of muffs and tippets. Feather muffs were very fashionable after 1760 and were worn with full dress. Muffs were constantly changing in style, and were used by men as well as women. An advertisement in this year gives us some idea of the luxurious uses of fur. John Siemon, who has "new-fashioned muffs and tippets" and "fur travelling and sleighing bearskin blankets" for sale, trims ladies' robes and riding-habits with fur and lines gentlemen's coats, caps and gloves. He calls especial attention to his choice black marten throat tippets. The tippet must have been in style, in 1775, if we may judge from advertisements: "Lost, supposed to be between the City Hall and the Bowling Green, a lady's tippet of a large size, a dark colour and made of martin's tails." Again: "Lost, in or near Broadway a lady's tippet made of dark brown martin skins."

V

EXTRAVAGANCE AND ECONOMY

After having enumerated the various articles of costume and toilets and examined the contents of the milliners' and mantua-makers' shops, it is very evident that the New York woman of fashion differed slightly, if at all, from her London prototype. If anything more is needed to prove this, we may mention that when Anstey wrote his *New Bath Guide* in 1766, he made a list of all the articles that a belle was forced to carry with her to that gay watering-place:

"Bring O bring thy essence-pot,
Amber, musk, and bergamot,
Eau-de-chipre, eau de luce,
Sans-pareil and citron-juice;
Nor thy band-box leave behind,
Fill'd with stores of every kind;
All the enraptur'd bard supposes,
Who to Fancy, odes composes;
All that Fancy's self has feigned,
In a band-box is contained.
Printed lawns and checker'd shades,
Crepe that's worn by love-lorn maids,
Water'd tabbies, flower'd brocades,
Violets, pinks, Italian posies,
Myrtles, jessamin, and roses,
Aprons, caps, and kerchiefs clean,
Straw-built hats and bonnets green,
Catguts, gauzes, tippets, ruffs,
Fans, and hoods, and feather'd muffs,

Stomachers and paris-nets,
Ear-rings, necklaces, aigrets,
Fringes, blonds, and mignionets,
Fine vermilion for the cheek,
Velvet patches *à la grèque.*"

Everything included here we have found in the shops and on the toilet-tables in New York, and many of them long before 1766. The checker'd shades, the water'd tabbies, the straw hats, the catgut gauze, the ruffs, the tippets, the mignionets, the feathered muffs and the paint and patches had been familiar for many years to the ladies of New York. They dressed for the assemblies, balls, routs and card-parties with the same interest that they did in London, and had no idea of being behind the European fashions. They flirted and ogled and chattered and amused themselves with trifles after the custom of the Eighteenth Century. The letter that "Sally Tippet" wrote to one of the newspapers gives an excellent insight into the thoughts and ambitions of a fashionable young woman,—for young she certainly seems. It will be noticed that she scorns "home-bred fashions" and is quite disdainful of the dressing of many of the New York ladies. She is proud to have been the first ever to have worn a hat to Trinity Church, and that her mother had introduced "the reverent compliment of curtseying." Her description of Jenny Petulant's walk is worth noting. She gives evidence of tastes that antedate the *merveilleuses* by thirty years. This letter appeared in 1761:

"Ladies, I cannot indulge any suspicion of your neglect, in examining strictly what is now laid before every tea-board that will be held this week, and that by any number of ladies, not

less than four. My oracles, the mantua maker and milliner—have most ungratefully refused either to make or recommend a polite dress I intended for the maiden ladies at the expiration of mourning, though most exquisitely well calculated to admit the cooling zephyrs of a season.

"I first began to image taste with the short petticoat and white stockings, and have ever since been so scrupulous an observer of it that I never was the mark of a pinking-iron behind it. Nothing however looks more surfeiting to me than your home-bred fashions and complements; there is something so rustic, so Bridget-Norton-like in them, which is visible in most of our city ladies, that I believe the one-half have neither milliners, dolls, dressing-maids, dancing-masters, nor indeed pier-glasses.

Gown of gauze embroidered in silver and under-dress of white satin, originally owned by Mrs. Theodorus Van Wyck Graham of Albany; now by her descendant, Mrs. C. E. Orvis. See page 235.

"My design was to have appeared the Sunday after the 4th. of June next in a blue Persian silk long robe, without any under-dress, which I should have called a Spartan fly, because it would have been an improved pattern of the Spartan maidens' garments. These virgins, you must know, were obliged by law to wear slits or rents in their clothes, to discover the delicacy of their skins; which was judged to be a great incitement to matrimony; for the married women were forbid it. But my intent is of quite another nature: it is to let the polite public know that, as dress is upon the *decline*, there is one who is able and willing to be an advocate in its behalf. This suit

of mine was to have six furbelowed openings, three upon each side. They were to be cut from the shoulders to within a hair's breadth of the bottom, to be scolloped and pinked all down with an edging around each of green gimp, and every breadth flounced between the openings. This most excellent Fly, my impertinent mantua-maker has refused making; she says it is for my insisting on the rights of Sparta, that she should be liable to a penalty if she made one for a married lady. But the reason is this, she has got a group of chestnut colour customers, who are flattered so much by her, with the name of brown beauties that their heads are quite addled; and as they are pretty numerous, it is not her interest to introduce a fashion that will show their tawny skins. So that by the caprice of mantua-makers, we whom Nature has brightened with the greatest delicacy, must hide all our charms of youth and beauty. Oh! intolerable!

"There are yet some things that are more noble than dress. These are regular motions in compliments, and well chosen forms.—Herein our family may boast precedence with any, for in many of the most genteel that are now used at the most elegant assemblies of fashion, we are originals. For my own part, I am the first that ever wore a hat at divine service in Trinity Church, for which I quote ancient Jerusalem as a precedent; antiquity shall be my plan. As to Mamma, she was something more of a Christian than to follow this, but would bring everything else to church; for that reverent compliment of courtesying was first brought in by her, which, to her immortal memory has continued (with a few innovations) ever since.

"But, Oh! could I refine the judgment, or clear the dim sight of those pretty Ardelois, who sidel us by the hand to church, I could live in peace ever after. Their errors in some things are most monstrous; no longer ago than last Sunday, as I was coming from church, who should be bouncing me, led by Lieutenant Tickle, but the erect figure of that all-of-a-piece Jenny Petulant. She was dyed into mourning from a greasy yellow, which is as rusty as a flitch of bacon. But to see her cross the kennel at the City Hall was killing, her hand was stuck out to Mr. Tickle with the same air that Mrs. Puritan

gives a copper to an itchy beggar; then up she hoisted, like Bacchus rising to bestride his tun, and slammed down again as if her foot had split a drum head. Many more of these uncouth airs could be mentioned had I room.

"Hi! ho! I have no card ladies for the next Assembly. Well! I may guess though, Miss Buzz says, the whisper is that young Cringe has sent one to Miss Gloss; if it's true, as I fear it is, by the name of Phoebus I'll throw in his way these four lines of Ovid's that fit her so well:

> "'Steal to her closet, her close tiring place,
> While she makes up her artificial face;
> All colours of the rainbow you'll discern,—
> Washes and paints and what you're sick to learn.'
>
> "Yours, yours, yours,
> "Sally Tippet."

About the end of our period, the following lines appeared in the *Universal Magazine*, ridiculing the constant succession of changes in female attire:

> "Now dress'd in a cap, now naked in none;
> Now loose in a *mob*, now close in a *Joan*;
> Without handkerchief now, and now buried in ruff;
> Now plain as a Quaker, now all in a puff;
> Now a shape in neat stays, now a slattern in *jumps*;
> Now high in French heels, now low in your pumps;
> Now monstrous in hoops, now trapish, and walking
> With your petticoats clung to your heels like a maulkin;
> Like the cock on the tower, that shows you the weather,
> You are hardly the same for two days together."

This might almost be taken as a review of the whole Georgian era. Every slightest change was noted in New York. The ladies, as we have seen, had their stays cut in the latest fashion, altered the shape of the hoop petticoat every now and then; wore a dozen ruffles at their sleeves or none at all; adorned their heads with lappets or discarded these

for a cap ;—in short, they made a business of following the fashion. In 1754, a local paper publishes the following :

"A RECEIPT FOR MODERN DRESS

"Hang a small bugle cap on as big as a crown,
Snout it off with a flower, *vulgo dict.* a pompoon ;
Let your powder be grey, and braid up your hair
Like the mane of a colt, to be sold at a fair.
A short pair of jumps half an ell from your chin,
To make you appear like one just lying in ;
Before, for your breast, put a stomacher bib on,
Ragout it with cutlets of silver and ribbon.
Your neck and your shoulders both naked should be,
Was it not for Vandyke blown with Chevaux de Frize.
Let your gown be a sack, blue, yellow, or green,
And frizzle your elbows with ruffles sixteen ;
Furl off your lawn aprons with flounces in rows,
Puff and pucker up knots on your arms and your toes ;
Make your petticoats short, that a hoop eight yards wide
May decently show how your garters are tied.
With fringes of knotting, your dicky cabob
On slippers of velvet set gold a-la-daube.
But mount on French heels when you go to a ball,
'Tis the fashion to totter and shew you can fall ;
Throw modesty out from your manners and face,
A-la-mode de François you're a bit for his Grace."

The following lines also appear in 1756 :

"The dress of the year 55 that was worn
Is laid in the grave and new fashions are born :
Then hear what your good correspondents advance,
'Tis the Pink of the Mode and dated from France :
Let your cap be a butterfly slightly hung on
Like the shell of a lapwing just hatch'd on her crown
Behind, with a coach horse short dock, cut your hair
Stick a flower before *Screw-whiff* with an air,
A Vandicke in frize your neck must surround,
Turn your lawns into gauze, let your Brussels be blond ;
Let your stomacher reach from shoulder to shoulder,
And your breast will appear much fairer and bolder.

"Wear a gown or a sack as fancies prevail,
But with flounces and furbelows ruffle your tail.
Let your hoop show your stockings and legs to your knees,
And leave men as little as may be to guess.
For other small ornaments, do as before,
Wear ribbons a hundred and ruffles a score;
Let your tail, like your dress, be fantastic and odd,
And then you'll show a way in taste *A-la-mode*."

Another for the same year is called

"THE PETITION

"Artful painter by this plan
Draw a female if you can.
Paint her features bold and gay,
Casting modesty away;
Let her hair the mode express,
And fantastic be her dress.
Cock her up a little hat
Of various colours, this and that;
Make her cap the fashion new,
An inch of gauze or lace will do.
Cut her hair the shortest dock;
Nicely braid the forehead lock;
Put her on a negligee,
A short sack, or shepherdee
Ruffled up to keep her warm,
Eight or ten upon an arm.
Let her hoop extending wide
Show her garters and her pride.
Her stockings must be pure and white
For they are seldom out of sight.
Let her have a high-heeled shoe,
And a glittering buckle too.
Other trifles that you find,
Make quite careless as her mind.
Thus equipped, she's charming ware
For the races or the fair."

It will be noticed that in the foregoing verses the smallness of the cap was ridiculed. In 1754, a fashion journal remarked that the long lappets, the horseshoe

cap, the Brussels head, and the prudish mob pinned under the chin had all had their day. "The present mode," it continued, "has routed all these superfluous excrescences and in room of a slip of cambric or lace has planted a whimsical sprig of spangles or artificial flowerets." Even when the exciting days of the Revolution were approaching, the merchants still offered attractive goods and the ladies were enabled to make themselves as attractive as ever. At the beginning of 1775, we find the following:

Portrait of Cornelia Beekman (Mrs. William Walton, 1708–1786); in possession of the Beekman family. See page 255.

"Henry Wilmot, in Hanover Square, sells (among other things) a great variety of ribbons, persians, modes, sarsinets, peelong; broad, narrow edging and double edge blond and black laces of all prices; minionet, thread, trolly and Dutch laces, scarlet and other coloured cloak trimmings, skeleton and cap wires, black and other coloured single and double ostrich feathers, cambrices clear, flowered and long lawns, dark ground and other calicoes and chintzes, breeches patterns, white worsted, gauze and cotton hose, almost every sort of fans, earrings and necklaces; with many articles in the jewellery way. Prepared hairs of all sorts and wig-makers trimmings."

Before dismissing the ladies altogether, we may note that while they were luxurious and fond of dress,

they were also economical. They understood the use of the needle and were not averse to repairing, patching, darning and remodelling old garments. Even if they kept up with new fashions, they wore their clothes carefully and frequently handed them down to the next generation. Some women actually made a business of repairing. Thus

(Dec. 4, 1749.) "Elizabeth Boyd is removed to Bayard's Street, near Mr. Cruger's, where she follows as usual new grafting and footing all sorts of stockings, making and mending of silk gloves, mittens, muftees, and making childern's stockings, and plain work. Likewise if any young lady has a mind to learn for the benefit of their own family, they may, in a short time, for a reasonable price."

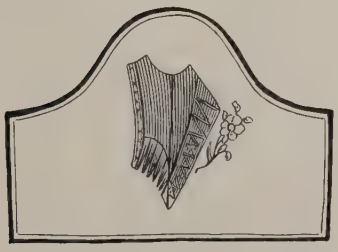
Two years later, she was next door to the Widow Hogs, near the Long Bridge, where she "continues to graft pieces in knit Jackets and Breeches, not to be discerned, also to graft and foot stockings, and Gentlemen's gloves, Mittens or Muffatees made out of old stockings, or runs them in the Heels; She likewise makes children's stockings out of old ones." Muffatees were, of course, for the wrists.

Ladies, probably, did the most of their repairing themselves. If they wanted to wash their laces or any other cherished articles, they could procure from Hugh Gaine some very fine crown soap which he imported and sold. This was specially recommended for the washing of fine linen, muslin, silk, lace, chintz, calico, and for the use of barbers.

There were also many cleaners, scourers and dyers that the ladies patronized, taking to them not only their garments, but bed-curtains and hangings and

various household furnishings. One of the most important of these in 1750 was thus announced :

"Thomas Davis, Dry Scourer from London, now lives at the house of Mr. Benjamin Leigh, School Master in Bridge Street, near the Long Bridge where he cleans all sorts of Gentlemen and Ladies Cloaths, Gold and Silver Lace, Brocades and embroidered work, Points d' Espagne, Cuffs and Robings, wrought Beds, hangings and tapestry, flowered velvets and chints without hurting their flowers, at a reasonable rate."



"Peter Hulick, stay-maker." (1774.)

VI

JEWELRY AND ORNAMENTS

In many inventories of well-to-do New Yorkers, one or two jewels are mentioned. Nearly everybody owned a gold or silver watch. A chain of pearls and a few diamond rings were not uncommon possessions. We even find Captain Smith (1709) with an "instrument to try pearls," which certainly looks as if he tested them before he bought or sold them. Captain Giles Shelly (1718) owned much jewelry and a mother-of-pearl box. He had a pearl necklace, a gold chain and pendants, eight gold beads, one amber and three red bead necklaces, a parcel of stones and beads, a piece of coral, a string of pearls, six gold pins with pearl heads, two India gold chains, six gold rings, two silver rings, twelve gold rings with stones, one agate seal, and part of a collar.

A few advertisements of different dates will give an idea not only of the kind of gems that people were wearing in these days, but how they were actually set. In 1734, somebody had "Lately lost a gold girdle buckle set around with small diamonds." The following is very explicit:

(Nov. 27, 1749.) "Lost on Thursday evening last at or going from the house of Mr. Ramsey, an earring the upper part whereof is in shape of a knot, set with small diamonds, and the lower part a drop with a diamond in the middle and some diamond sparks round. Two pistoles reward."

This must have been a handsome jewel, for the reward was generous. A larger reward was offered, however, in 1757, by Mr. Naphtaly Hart Myers who was willing to give five pistoles reward for his lost

Lorgnette, seal rings and watches owned by Angelica Schuyler Church; now by Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin S. Church. See page 254.

"Hoop Ring set round with Diamonds." Two other advertisements of 1761 and 1762 read:

"Lost, a Diamond Ring, on which is a Heart and Crown, both Diamonds. Whoever has found the same and will bring it to the Printer hereof, shall have forty shillings reward."

"Stolen out of a House near Ellis's Dock on Friday night, being the 5th of February, one Diamond Ring with seven Dia-

monds, three large and four small; one Diamond in most the shape of a Flower Pot; one Ring with four Diamonds and a flat stone with a little Hair under; one Diamond Girdle Buckle with about thirty or thirty-two Stones; one plain gold Ring, maker's name, P V B, and £12 in cash."

The three most important jewellers of New York seem to have been Peter Lorin, Charles Dutens and Charles Oliver Bruff. The first appears in 1749, when he announces:

"Peter Lorin from London sets after the neatest and newest fashions, all sorts of jewels, rings, solitiars, lockets, seals etc. He has to dispose, sundry diamonds, rings, a parcel of the best pastes in earrings and aigrettes. He intends to make a short stay in this place."

He evidently remained longer than he had purposed, for in the following year he advertises that he "sets after the neatest and newest fashions all sorts of Jewels, Rings, Ear-rings, Solitaires, Lockets, Aigrettes, Stay-Hooks, Seals, as also Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, Saphires, or any other kind of Stones, to the best Advantage, at very reasonable Rates."

Charles Dutens announced in 1751:

"Gentlemen and Ladies who want any Diamond Rings, Mourning, Fancy, Enamell'd or Motto do., Stone Buttons set in Gold, Ear-Rings, Solitairs, Stay-Hooks, Seals or Lockets, may be faithfully served in the cheapest manner by Charles Dutens at Mrs. Eastham's, near the Long Bridge. He also sets Rubies, Saphires, Diamonds, Emeralds, or any other kind of Stones after the Newest Fashion to the best Advantage." A little later in the same year, he "makes Hoop Rings set all round, likewise Fancy Rose and all sorts of Rings etc. He has some beautiful Stones fit for Gentlemen's waistcoats for the Season; likewise a small parcel of Diamonds and Emeralds fit for Ear-rings or Rings."

We find Mr. Bruff in New York from 1763 until 1776, constantly tempting both sexes. In the first named year he appeared with the following:

"Charles Oliver Bruff, goldsmith and jeweller, at the sign of the Tea-pot and Tankard, in Maiden Lane, near the Fly Market, having employed a Jeweller from London who understands making or mending any kind of diamond or enamell'd work in the jewelry way. Also makes and mends all manner of stone buckles, stone rings, earrings, broaches, seals, solitairs, hair jewels, lockets, enamell'd. Makes all manner of sleeve buttons, mourning rings of all sorts, trinkets for ladies, plats hair in a curious manner in true lovers' knots for buttons, rings or lockets, plain or enamell'd, gold necklaces or stone of all sorts. Said Bruff makes all sorts of silversmiths' work, mends old work in that way, and has put himself to a great expense in sending to London for diamonds and all manner of precious stones, and he hopes for the encouragement of the Gentlemen and Ladies of this City, as he will study to use them well."

When we take leave of him in 1775, we find that his sign was the Tea-Pot, Tankard and Ear-ring although he still lived in Maiden Lane and Crown Street. He had added the art of the lapidary, and it is very interesting to note the kind of emblems and subjects people like for their seals, rings and other trinkets. It would seem too that working in hair was a new fashion. But let us allow him to speak for himself:

"Charles Oliver Bruff at the sign of the Tea-Pot, Tankard and Ear-ring, between Maiden Lane and Crown Street, near Fly Market, makes and mends all kinds of diamond or enamelled work in the jewellery way; also all manner of stone buckles, solitaires, hair jewels, lockets, enamelled sleeve buttons, mourning rings of all sorts, trinkets for ladies, rings and lockets, plain or enamelled; gold necklaces and stones of all sorts. Likewise makes and mends all sorts of silversmith's work; also ladies' fans neatly mended. He gives the highest price for old

gold silver and jewels; buys rough coral, handsome pebbles and black cornelian, fit for seal stones. He has fitted a lapidary mill up where he cuts all sorts of stones, engraves all sorts of coins, crests, cyphers, heads and fancies, in the neatest manner and greatest expedition, with the heads of Lord Chatham, Shakespeare, Milton, Newton, Pope, Homer, Socrates, Hannibal, Marc Anthony, Cæsar, Plato, Jupiter, Apollo, Neptune, Mars, Cleopatra, Diana, Flora, Venus, Marcelania, Masons arms, with all emblems of Liberty; Cupid fancies, hearts and doves neatly engraved for ladies' trinkets; likewise silver and steel seals. He also plaits hair in the neatest manner. N. B. Takes likenesses off in hair as natural as possible, as to the form of visages, works hair in sprigs, birds, figures, cyphers, crests and cupid fancies."

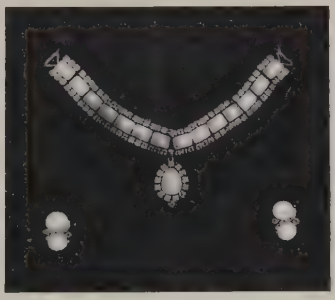
Mr. Naphtaly Hart Myers, who lost his Hoop ring in 1757, was a dealer who made periodical trips to Europe. In 1764, he offered for sale "a sett of jewels, consisting of a pair of three drop diamond earrings, Egrat, Salatair, Hoop and other Rings."

A vast amount of paste was also worn. Paste glittered everywhere from the aigrettes in the coiffure to the buckle on the shoe.

On pages 191 and 256 is shown specimen jewelry of the time. Page 191 shows some shoe, stock and knee-buckles of gold and silver. These are arranged to show the obverse of each pair. On the same illustration are châtelaines, watches and buttons. Two more watches with other articles appear on page 251. Page 256 shows a collection of brooches, earrings, rings, pendants, two necklaces and a bracelet of brilliants or *marquisate*, known as paste.

Turning now to the importations of jewelry, we may note French necklaces, sleeve-buttons and New York pattern buckles, in 1743; scarf-buttons, in 1745;

watches and earrings of various sorts, in 1747; silver girdles, necklaces, silver set sleeve and waistcoat buttons, and breast and shirt metal buttons, in 1750; breast-buckles, the most fashionable earrings, necklaces, and bracelets, in 1760; shoe, knee, stock and girdle-buckles, amber and garnet necklaces, silver pinchbeck watches and seals, paste set and jap'd hair pins, elegant paste and double gilt shoe and knee buckles, and paste and mock garnet necklaces and earrings, and French, India and pearl necklaces and earrings, 1767; very neat paste set tortoise-shell combs, paste shoe and knee buckles, paste garnet jet, wax and pearl necklaces and earrings, stone sleeve-buttons and carnelian and paste seals, pearl necklaces, necklaces and black beads, stone sleeve-buttons set in silver, paste earrings, mock garnets, stone-set hair pins, coral bells, rings for necklaces, and crystal bosom buttons, 1769. One of the ordinary necklaces of the day appears on this page. It is of imitation opal and diamonds. A handsome pearl necklace and earrings are worn by Cornelia Beekman on page 247.



Set of jewelry owned by Mrs. W. Sherwood Popham. See this page.

Sleeve-buttons were somewhat uncommon, on account of the enormous amount of lace ruffles worn. A few have occurred in the above importations, and the following loss was published in 1733:

"Lost between Bowery Lane and Greenwich, a Pair of Gold Sleeve Buttons. Whoever shall find said Buttons and

Paste and marquisate necklaces, bracelet, earrings, brooches and rings; originals in the Museum for the Art of Decoration, Cooper Union. See page 254.

bring them to Mr. Todd, next door to the Coffee House in New York, shall have a sufficient reward."

PART VI

AMUSEMENTS

PART VI

AMUSEMENTS

I

OUTDOOR SPORTS

At all seasons of the year, the New Yorker was fond of both outdoor and indoor amusements. The traditional sour-visaged Puritan would have been out of place here. There was singing, dancing and feasting all the year round. In the winter there was shooting, skating and sleighing. In 1704, Madame Knight noticed the pleasure-loving character of the town:

"They are not strict in keeping the Sabbath as in Boston and other places where I had been. . . . They are sociable to one another, and courteous and civil to strangers and fare well in their houses. . . . Their diversion in the winter is riding sleys about three miles out of town, where they have houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery; and some go to friends' houses, who handsomely treat them. Mr. Borroughs carry'd his spouse and daughter and myself out to one Madame Dowe's, a gentlewoman that lived at a farm-house who gave us entertainment of five or six dishes, and choice beer and methegolin, cyder, etc. all which she said was the product of her farm.

"I believe we met fifty or sixty sleys that day; they fly with great swiftness, and some are so furious that they'll turn out of the path for none but a loaden cart. Nor do they spare for any diversion the place affords, and sociable to a

degree, theyr tables being as free to their neighbours as to themselves."

The absence of anything approaching asceticism in the character of the community as a whole became still more marked as wealth increased. Deep drinking and gambling both were very prevalent. Men of all classes celebrated the New Year with revelry which sometimes terminated tragically. It was difficult to stop gambling. In 1742, it was declared that gaming at taverns and other public-houses for money or strong liquors had by fatal experience been found to be attended with many evil consequences not only by violating and corrupting the manners of the people, encouraging them to idleness, deceit and many other immoralities, but that it had a manifest tendency to the ruin of many. It was therefore enacted that if any innkeeper should thenceforth keep any billiard-table, truck-table, or shuffleboard-table, and permit anybody to game by day or night, he should be fined twenty shillings for each offence. He was also to be fined £3 if he allowed any youths under the age of 21, or any apprentice, journeyman, servant, or common sailor to gamble with dice or cards. Thus gambling was reserved for merchants and the gentry.

Silver bowl originally owned by Dr. Samuel Johnson; now by Mr. and Mrs. William E. Ver Planck. See page 285.

Lotteries, when properly authorized, were scarcely recognized as a form of gambling. They were used for all sorts of purposes, such as building gaols, hos-

pitals, colleges and churches, and for disposing of real estate. When, however, people began to multiply lotteries for individual profit, laws were made to stop them. In 1747, an Act against private lotteries was passed to remedy the "pernicious consequences to the public by encouraging numbers of labouring people to assemble at taverns where such lotteries are usually set on foot and drawn." At a lottery in 1765 some of the prizes were: curious silver coffee-pots, tankards, pint mugs, sauce-boats, punch-strainers, curious chiming table clocks, gold rings, gold rings set with diamonds, snuff-boxes, beautiful French fans, shoe and knee-buckles, silk umbrellas, and a library of books, including Swift, Pope, Addison, Shakespeare, Gay, Smollett, Hume, Steele and Lady Montagu's Letters of Travel.

Shooting was a favourite sport, and there was plenty of game at hand. We have already seen that for a long time it was customary for people to shoot over other men's land. Deer were scarce in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, but plentiful on Long Island. In 1706, an Act to preserve deer made a close season from January 1 to August 1, in Suffolk, Queens, Kings, Westchester and Richmond.

Fatal accidents due to carelessness or defective sight, when one hunter mistook another for the game, were as common then as now. These were sometimes reported rather flippantly.

One of these, in 1734, reads:

"We hear that on Tuesday last one Reynier Sickelse, at Gravesend on Long Island, being out a Hunting and by Chance espied a Fox, which he pursued, and after some time thought

he saw the Fox, behind some Bushes, and Fired at it; but when he came to the Place (without doubt to his great amazement) he found that he had shot a Woman who was busy gathering some Berries. The fatal mistake was occasioned by her wearing an Orange Brown Wast-Coat. The Man is in a very melancholy condition."

Another reads (1754):

"A melancholy affair happened near this City. One Jacob Kool, in his rounds a gunning, noticed something moving in a thicket of bushes and not readily distinguishing the object, imagined it to be a bear; and having no bullets about him, withdrew to a neighbouring house and requested a number, telling the people there was such a beast at a small distance. Upon this two of the inhabitants, one Johan Baltas Dash, and a negro man, taking down their pieces, they all three loaded with balls, and coming near the thicket, Kool discharged his gun into the middle of it, as did likewise the others, when hearing a groan and seeing the motion of a man's leg, they found their mistake. It afterwards proved to be the body of Mr. Cornelius Vonk of this City, who walking out to refresh himself, laid down under the thicket to rest, where, it is supposed, he fell asleep. The Jury brought in their verdict Chance medley. (Short-sighted persons are not fit to go a gunning; they therefore would do well to go to Ohio, where, as they can't see distinctly, they may kill as many Frenchmen as they please instead of bears.)"

There was great complaint in 1759 that it was unsafe to walk in Mr. Bayard's woods on account of the fowling there.

Game preserves were kept by some of the gentry, as has already appeared in the case of Governor Cosby. The close seasons established for various kinds of game point to a desire to maintain good sport. Additional evidence of this occurred during the severe

Court sword, canes, book- and letter-cases, pocket-books, silver card-tray, knife and fork, and fan; from the Museum for the Art of Decoration, Cooper Union. See pages 195 and 225.

winter of 1764–5 when the mercury fell to 35° below zero. On January 31st, we learn :

"The late severe weather having destroyed great numbers of small birds and seeming to threaten an extinction of the species of several sorts, at least for some years to come in these parts, especially quails, we hear several gentlemen have caught and purchased considerable numbers of them which they keep in cages properly sheltered from the cold, and feed, in order to set them at liberty in the Spring to preserve the breed."

Besides game-preserves, some of the rich gentry had deer-parks. In 1749, John Schuyler advertised :

"Whereas some persons have of late entered the park of the Subscriber, on New Barbadoes Neck, in the County of Bergen, and have there shot and killed some of my deer in said park. These are therefore to forbid all persons to enter into said park, or to carry a musket or firelock on any of my enclosed lands or meadows without my leave first obtained for so doing under the penalty of being prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law."

Mr. Schuyler offered £3 for evidence of anyone having killed his deer. Good marksmanship was cultivated in New York, even as it was on the frontier. Sometimes a shooting-match was held in the form of a sweepstakes, the prize being some object of value instead of money. On one occasion the prize was a house and lot ; on another, a gold watch. In 1734, we read "To be shot for, a lot of land 37 ft. 6 in. broad in Sacket's Street. April 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th (Easter) one ball at 100 yards, at the Sign of the Marlborough Head in Bowery Lane, 5 sh per shot, best shot in the four days to have the lot." One of these advertisements gave an unusually minute de-

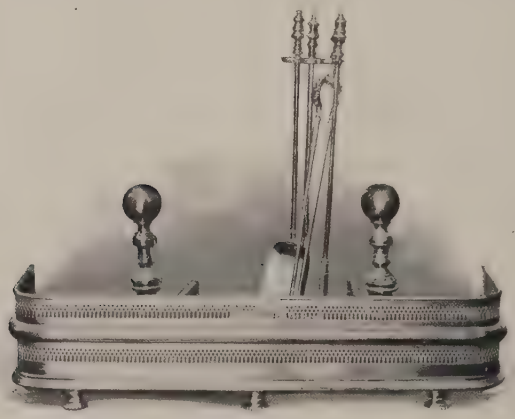
scription of a fashionable piece of furniture of the day (1753):

"To be shot for on the 22d of January next, a good mahogany chest of drawers, with eagles' claw feet, a shell on each knee and fluted corners, with good brass work and locks. Those that intend to try their fortune for the same, may apply to Mr. George Peters in Broad Street, where they may see the above. There will be twenty chances at 14/- each chance."

Boating and fishing were largely indulged in. Pleasure boats were at the wharves of every country seat that had a water-front. In 1732, Gov. Montgomerie's "fine large barge, with awning and damask curtains" was sold at public vendue. In 1736, Captain Rickets's Pleasure Boat was to be sold (being very well fitted). "The yacht or Pleasure Boat belonging to Captain Roddam, with good sails, rigging," etc., was offered for sale at Mr. Ackland's Coffee House in 1751.

Out-of-door games were extensively played on the Common and other open spaces in the city, as well as outside its limits. Bowls was played in many a garden as well as on its special green near the Fort. Golf was no stranger to officers and gentry. In 1729, Governor Burnet's inventory mentions "Nine gouff clubs, one iron ditto and seven dozen balls." This governor was an enthusiastic sportsman. He owned five cases of foils, an extra one, three fowling-pieces and a cane fishing-rod. Other games were fives, tennis and cricket. In 1766 "James Rivington imported battledores and shuttlecocks, cricket-balls, pillets, best racquets for tennis and fives, backgammon tables with men, boxes and dice." Cards were imported in enormous quantities.

Besides sea-fishing, the rod and fly afforded exercise and enjoyment. Sea-bathing also had its votaries. In 1760, an advertisement read: "A cold Bathing-house opposite to Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt, at the North River, is kept in order for the use of gentlemen or ladies by Abraham Fincher, who takes care to have the water let in every tide and has it convenient for use from half flood to half ebb." In 1769, a cork-cutter named Jarvis Roebuck, who lived at the foot of Pot Baker's Hill and also "sold all sorts of



Brass hearth furniture, owned by Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis.
See page 162.

cork and corks," informed the public that he had "cork jackets of different prices for swimming, which has saved many from drowning."

Cockfighting was a popular pastime. Silver and steel spurs were on sale in many stores. "Very good cocks" were to be procured at the sign of the Fight-

ing Cocks near the Gentleman's Coffee House. The less fashionable Dog's Head in the Porridge Pot also supplied them. Bull-baiting was one of the joyous sports patronized by the gentry. Bulls were baited on Bayard's Hill at the fresh-water pump. In 1774, "John Cornell, near St. George's Ferry, Long Island, gave public notice that there would be a bull baited on Tower Hill at three P. M. every Thursday during the season." (See page 271.)

The Long Island plains afforded splendid runs for foxhounds, and in the Autumn, when the fields had been reaped, packs had the right to hunt over them. The hounds often met in Bergen Woods also.

The English love of horseflesh early displayed itself here. Colonel Nicholls, the first English governor, ordered that a stake should be run for on the present site of Garden City, which was then known as Salisbury Plain. This plain, sixteen miles in length and four in breadth, was covered with fine turf and entirely destitute of trees. From its resemblance to Newmarket Heath, the course was called Newmarket, and the first race was run there about 1666. From 1670, there were two race-meetings a year till 1775, and these were attended by the gentry of New York and New England. There were several other courses on Long Island, particularly one around Beaver Pond, Jamaica. The value of the plate varied. Two examples will suffice :

"On Monday last ended the races round Beaver Pond near Jamaica, L. I., for a purse of £12, which was won by a gelding from Maryland belonging to Mr. John Combes of Jamaica." (June 3, 1755.)

"N. Y. Freemason Purse of £100 to be run for around the Beaver Pond at Jamaica, L. I., best 2 of 3 heats, each heat 3 times round the pond—whole bred English only excepted." (Apr. 23rd, 1763.)

To improve the native breed, the very best foreign blood was imported, and before long there was great rivalry between English and American horses. In 1764, at the Newmarket races, the £50 purse was run for by Mr. Smith's bay horse Hero, Mr. Thorne's grey horse Starling, and Mr. Leary's bay horse Old England, all bred in and imported from England. Starling won first and second heat, successively, winning the purse. The keenness of the rivalry between the native and foreign stock may be seen in the following notice that appeared May 16, 1768:

"The Hundred Pounds purse at Upper Marlborough, has been won by Dr. Hamilton's English horse Figure, beating the, hitherto, terrific Salem. As many incidents occur in a four mile heat, and we have no particulars of the sport, it is but justice to the gallant American that the public should suspend its decisive opinion until the champions have met at Philadelphia, next October; when the vanquished may recover, or the victor be confirmed in the triumphant post which, to the astonishment of thousands, he has so successfully contended for. Figure was got by a beautiful horse of that name, the property of the Duke of Hamilton; ran five times in England and won one plate; he also started two years ago against five horses at Annapolis and beat them in four fine heats. Salem, a grandson of Godolphin Arabian, and got by Governor Sharp's valiant Othello, has run about nine times, and till this event proved in every dispute unconquerable. The gentlemen of Philadelphia have raised a purse of £100 and two of £50 each, to be run for over their course in the Fall. The particulars adapted to the late increase of fine horses in the Northern Colonies will be advertised very soon."

Some of these events attracted great crowds. In June, 1750, we are told: "Last Friday a great horse race was run at Hempstead Plains for a considerable wager, which engaged the attention of so many of this city that upwards of seventy chairs and chaises were carried over the ferry from hence the day before, besides a far greater number of horses, and it was thought that the number of horses in the plains at the race far exceeded a thousand." The New York sporting men, however, were not content to go only to those places. Courses were often improvised on Manhattan Island, and even within the city itself. In 1736, it was announced:

"On Wed. Oct. 13, next, will be run for on the course at N. Y. a plate of £20 value, by any horse, mare or gelding, carrying 10 stone (saddle and bridle included) the best of three heats, two miles each heat. Horses intended to run for this plate are to be entered the day before the race with Francis Child, on Fresh Water Hill, paying a half pistole each, or at the post on the day of running, paying a pistole. And the next day will be run for on the same course, by all or any of the horses that started for the £20 plate (the winning horse excepted); the entrance money on the condition above. Proper judges will be named to determine any disputes that may arise. All persons on horseback or in chaises coming into the field (the subscribers and winning horses only excepted) are to pay 6d. each to the owner of the ground."

There was a beautiful race-course on the Lispenard meadows in Greenwich village, near the seats of Sir Peter Warren, Abraham Mortier, William Bayard and James Tauncey. Another private track belonging to the De Lanceys was on First and Second Streets fronting the Bowery. Here were held many trials of speed. Sometimes trials were held on the public

roads. One of these is noticed on April 29, 1754: "Tuesday morning last a considerable sum was depending between a number of gentlemen in this city on a horse starting from one of the gates of the city

Silver candlesticks owned by Frederic J. de Peyster, Esq.
See page 143.

to go to Kingsbridge and back again, being fourteen measured miles (each way) in two hours time; which he performed with one rider in 1 hr. and 46 min."

This horse belonged to Oliver De Lancey, who was one of the most enthusiastic patrons of the turf in that day. The De Lanceys and Morrises spent large sums on their studs and owned many famous horses. Other owners and breeders included General Monckton, Anthony Rutgers, Timothy Cornell, Roper Dawson, the Earl of Stirling, Captain Heard, Israel Waters, and the Cornells of Long Island. Racing was not confined to those who could keep regular training stables. There were opportunities for

small farmers and tradesmen to test many of their horses.

The sporting gentry of New York thronged not only to their own and the Long Island courses, but to Powles Hook, Perth Amboy, and Elizabethtown. In 1774, the Continental Congress suppressed this kind of sport when Article 8 agreed to "discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows, plays and other expensive diversions and entertainments."

"Bull-baiting, John Cornell, near St. George's Ferry, Long Island." (1774.)

II

THEATRES

In New York in the time of the Georges, many inhabitants were strongly opposed to theatrical entertainments. The earliest newspaper notice of a theatre occurs in 1733, when George Talbot sold furniture "next door to the Playhouse." The first company of which we have any knowledge arrived at the beginning of 1750. On Feb. 26th we read:

> "Last week arrived here a company of comedians from Philadelphia, who we hear have taken a convenient room for their purpose in one of the buildings lately belonging to the Hon. Rip Van Dam, Esq., deceased, in Nassau Street, where they intend to perform as long as the season lasts, provided that they meet with suitable encouragement."

These comedians gave entertainments till the end of July and began again on Sept. 13. The first play presented was Colley Cibber's version of Shakespeare's *Richard III.* The managers thought it necessary to inform the public what the play was about. "In this play," they said, "is contained the death of King Henry VI.; the artful acquisition of the Crown by Richard III., the landing at Milford Haven of Henry VII. and the Battle at Bosworth Field."

At that date, no distinction was made between the lyric and dramatic stage. Members of a stock company were necessarily versatile. This company per-

formed tragedies, comedies, farces and ballad-operas. Between the acts of the various plays, songs and dances were introduced, with costume in character.

Then people read plays as literature. The libretto of the last stage success was as eagerly bought as the latest novel. We shall see on page 387 how the fashionable young lady was well acquainted with the contemporary stage. If the company wanted to pro-

Silver and other articles, originally owned by the Duane, Jones and Bowers families; now by Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox and Mrs. French Ensor Chadwick. See pages 152 and 335.

duce a play of which they had no libretto, they could be reasonably sure that they could borrow it from somebody here. They advertised in May 1751: "If any Gentleman or Lady has the Farce call'd *The Intriguing Chambermaid*, and will lend it awhile to the Players, it will be thankfully acknowledged."

Some of these plays were of a nature to scandalize minds not necessarily puritanical. To-day, some of them would be quite unplayable. Even persons who were not at all squeamish generally preferred the

purer atmosphere of tragedies. The following paragraph was printed in September, 1750:

"Thursday evening last, the tragedy of *Cato* was played at the theatre in this city, before a very numerous audience, the greater part of whom were of opinion that it was pretty well performed. As it was the fullest assembly that has appeared in that house, it may serve to prove that the taste of this place is not so much vitiated, or lost to a sense of liberty, but that they can prefer a representation of virtue to those of a loose character."

In England at this date, players were generally regarded as vagabonds. This company now visiting New York had practically been treated as such in Philadelphia. Two actors who were also the managers were Messrs. Murray and Kean. The names of the other members were: Tremain, Woodham, Jago, Scott, Leigh, Smith, Moore, Marks, Master Murray, Miss Osborn, Miss Nancy George, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Osborn, Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Leigh. The following notes show that the social standing of these players was not very high:

[April 22nd, 1751], "Mr. Kean, by the advice of several gentlemen in town who are his friends, having resolved to quit the stage and follow his employment of writing (wherein he hopes for encouragement) will take a benefit, playing *Richard III.*"

[June 10th], Mr. Jago "humbly hopes that all ladies and gentlemen will be so kind as to favour him with their company as he never had a benefit before, and is just out of prison."

[June 13], "Mrs. Davis hopes as the play is granted her to enable her to buy off her time, that the ladies and gentlemen who are charitably inclined will favour her benefit, and their humble petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray."

[June 17th], "'Tis the first time this poor widow (Osborn) has had a benefit."

[Aug. 26th], "John Tremain having declined the stage,

proposes to follow his business of cabinet-maker." (He returned to the boards a few months later.)

The venture of these players was not a success pecuniarily. The players had to resort to benefits in consequence. Poor Mr. Jago's offence was probably nothing more serious than debt. It was perhaps a similar danger of jail that drove Mr. Kean and Mr. Tremain back to their ordinary vocations. Mrs. Davis evidently belonged to that class of Redemptionists who were practically slaves for a certain number of years. Perhaps her master had hired out her talents to the company, just as it was customary to do with servants and craftsmen. Mr. Kean's benefit was given on Jan. 14, 1731. The play was *The Beggars' Opera*, "with entertainments between the acts, viz., a Harlequin dance, a Pierot dance and the Drunken Peasant, all by a gentleman lately from London. *Miss in her Teens* and an Oratorio to be sung by Mr. Kean."

Silver tea-pot originally owned by Dr. Samuel Johnson, now by Mr. and Mrs. William E. Ver Planck. See page 150.

At first, it was customary not to sell tickets at the door. Actors went round to houses and solicited attendance. Some disagreeable criticisms were made at the time of the above benefit. The manager and Mr. Kean both offered explanations as follows:

[Jan. 21st, 1751.] "Whereas several reports have been unkindly spread that Mr. Kean, for his benefit night on Mon-

day last, had caused a greater number of tickets to be printed than the house would hold, this is to certify that (according to the best of my knowledge) there were but 161 pit tickets, 10 boxes, and 121 gallery tickets printed in all; and it is well known that as large a number have been in the house at one time. JAMES PARKER.

"N. B. Tho' it was then determined not to receive any money at the door, it was afterwards found to be a measure impracticable to be followed without great offence; and such whose business could not afford to come in time have since had their money return'd.

"Whereas it has been reported that Mrs. Taylor, in playing her part in my benefit, endeavoured to perform it in a worse manner than she was capable, and that it was done on account of a falling out between us: This is therefore to certify that there was no such difference between her and me; and that I believe her being out so much in the part was owing to her not getting the part in time." THOMAS KEAN.

We thus see that the large room in Mr. Van Dam's house could accommodate about two hundred people. In November, 1751, it was announced "The house being new floored is made warm and comfortable, besides which gentlemen and ladies may cause their stoves to be brought."

These stoves were foot-warmers,—small square boxes with perforated lids and metal receptacles inside for hot embers. They were commonly in use in the pews of churches. The hour for beginning the performance was 6.30 P. M. and the prices of the seats were: a box, five shillings, the pit, four shillings, and gallery seats two shillings. The original prices were for the pit five shillings, the gallery three shillings, the boxes being simply portions of the pit partitioned off. The performances were held twice a week, but

were frequently postponed on account of hot or inclement weather. In January, 1752, we read:

"Mr. Upton (to his great Disappointment) not meeting with encouragement enough to support the Company for the Season intends to shorten it by performing 5 or 6 plays only for Benefits & begins with his own on Monday the 20th Inst. His play is a celebrated comedy called *Tunbridge Walks*, or *the Yeoman of Kent*; his Entertainment, the *Lying Valet*. And as hitherto, encouragement has been little, hopes the Gentlemen and Ladies will favour him that Night."

Mr. Upton then sailed for Europe. Before he went away, he played *The Fair Penitent* (March 4,) and the *Honest Yorkshireman*, the part of Lavinia being attempted by Mrs. Tremain, and a farewell epilogue by Mr. Upton. Experiences with this company of players had evidently not prepossessed the City Fathers in favour of the profession, for when a London company arrived fifteen months later, it experienced great opposition and the Assembly refused to licence it. The tribulations which the company suffered are fully set forth in a newspaper article:

On July 2nd, 1753, "the London company of comedians, lately arrived from Virginia, humbly submit their case to the consideration of the public, whose servants they are." They sadly anticipate failure for their enterprise and censure for the undertaking. They had expected a different reception, "little imagining, that in a city to all appearance so polite as this, the Muses would be banished, . . . and the elegant entertainment of the Stage utterly protested against." The statement goes on to inform the public that it was originally proposed to Mr. William Hallam, now of London, to collect a company of comedians and send them to New York and other American colonies. He consented and collected people, scenes and costumes at great expense,—and in Oct., 1750, sent Mr. Robert Upton to New York to obtain the necessary permission to perform, to build a

theatre, and to make all preparations. For this, Mr. Hallam advanced a good sum.

Mr. Upton, however, on his arrival probably squandered the money with the town blades, "for we never heard from him after. Being thus deceived by him, the Company was at a stand till April, 1752, when by the persuasion of several gentle-

Spinet made by Johannes Hitchcock (London, 1750). From Mr. Morris Steinert's collection of old instruments. (See page 293.)

men in London, and Virginia captains, we set sail on board of *Mr. William Lee* and arrived after a very expensive and tiresome voyage at York River on the 28th of June following." There they obtained the Governor's permission, and performed with the greatest applause, staying eleven months. Then they were again persuaded to come here by several gentlemen whose names they will refrain from mentioning. These gentlemen

gave a very rosy account of the prospects here. "They told us that we should not fail of a genteel and favourable reception; that the inhabitants were generous and polite, naturally fond of diversions rational, especially those of the theatre; nay, they even told us that there was a very fine play-house building, and that we were really expected.

So they came, and now are grieved that they are not wanted. Being people of no estates, they have no fund to bear such repulses; a journey by sea and land of 500 miles costs money! "Therefore if the worthy magistrates would consider this in our favour that it must rather turn out a public advantage and pleasure than a private injury, they would, we make no doubt, grant permission and give us an opportunity to convince them that we are not cast in the same mould with our theatrical predecessors, or that in private life or public occupation, we have the least affinity to them."

There was evidently a sufficient number of friends of the drama to overcome the opposition, for eleven weeks later it was announced:

"The company of comedians who arrived here the past summer, having obtained permission from the proper authority to act, have built a very fine, large and commodious new theatre in the place where the old one stood; and having got it into good order, design to begin this evening. As they propose to tarry here but a short time, we hear they design to perform three times a week."

The house occupied the old site, and the company began with the comedy, *The Conscious Lovers* on Sept. 17. The play began at 6 P. M. and the prices were Box 8/-, Pit 6/-, Gallery 3/-. We soon find evidence of the fashionable habit of arriving late:

"Ladies and gentlemen who intend to favour with their company are desired to come by six o'clock, being determined to keep to our hour as it would be a great inconvenience for them to be kept out late, and a means to prevent disappointment."

Some of the advertisements requested ladies and gentlemen to send their servants early to keep their places for them, which shows that numbered seats were not sold. The members of this company, the Douglasses, Hallams, etc. were prominent in the theatrical life in the city for many years. There were twelve adults and three children, Lewis Hallam, a low comedian, his daughter aged fifteen and two sons aged twelve and ten; Messrs. Rigby, Malone, Clarkson, Adcock, Bell, Miller, Hulett, Singleton, Mrs. Becceley, Mrs. Love, Mrs. Adcock, Mrs. Clarkson, and Mrs. Lewis Hallam, who was a relative of Rich of Covent Garden. Upon the death of her husband, she married David Douglass, who then managed this company.

Hostility to the stage among a certain class showed itself on several occasions, but it was not until the troublous days of the Stamp Act that the mob resorted to violence. An incident that doubtless hugely delighted the gallery was reported on May 3, 1762, as follows:

"A Pistole reward will be given to whoever can discover the person who was so very rude to throw eggs from the gallery upon the stage last Monday by which the clothes of some ladies and gentlemen in the boxes were spoiled and the performance in some measure interrupted.

"DAVID DOUGLASS."

The performance was interrupted in a far more serious manner early in May, 1766. The theatre that suffered stood in Chapel Street, and on the night of the riot the plays were *The Twin Rivals* and *The King and the Miller of Mansfield.* The manager had

advertised: "As the packet is arrived and has been the messenger of good news relative to the Repeal, it is hoped the public has no objection to the above performance." On May 8th, 1766, the paper gave the following account of the affair:

"The play advertised to be acted on last Monday evening having given offence to many of the inhabitants of this city who thought it highly improper that such entertainments should be exhibited at this time of public distress, when great numbers of poor people can scarce find means of subsistance, whereby many persons might be tempted to neglect their business and squander that money which is necessary to the payment of this debt and support of their families, a rumor was spread about town on Monday that if the play went on, the audience would meet with some disturbance from the multitude. This prevented the greatest part of those who intended to have been there from going: however many people came, and the play was begun, but soon interrupted by the multitude who burst open the doors and entered with noise and tumult. The audience escaped in the best manner they could: many lost their hats and other parts of dress. A boy had his skull fractured —several others were dangerously hurt. The multitude immediately demolished the house, and carried away the pieces to the Common, where they consumed them in a bonfire."

At the opening of this theatre in January, 1759, David Douglass, the manager, had written:

"Be pleased to give the inclosed occasional Prologue and Epilogue spoken at the opening of the new theatre in this city, a place in your paper. As we cannot imagine the difficulty we met with in obtaining liberty to act here proceeded from any ill opinion those in authority had of a well-regulated stage, but rather from a tender regard to the mistaken notions of others, we humbly beg leave to embrace this opportunity of recommending this performance to the candid perusal of such prejudiced, though we doubt not, well meaning minds."

The Prologue and Epilogue were apologies and defences of theatrical performances. The riot of 1766 had no permanent effect in hindering theatrical performances, for in the following year a playhouse was opened in John Street. The company that opened it included among its members several persons who, being very good singers as well as actors and actresses, could sustain their parts in the light operas and musical

Chairs of the Heppelwhite period. Originals in the Museum for the Art of Decoration, Cooper Union, New York. See page 285.

farces of the day as well as in the plays. Often during the performance of a tragedy or comedy, they were called upon to sing some popular song between the acts; this, indeed, was so important a feature of the evening's entertainment, that their names and the titles of the songs were specially advertised. For example, Miss Maria Storer delighted the audience

on May 2, 1768, with the celebrated song "Sweet Echo," when *Richard III.* was played for the benefit of the three Misses Storer. She sang it between the third and fourth acts. Miss Hallam sang "'Twas when the Seas were Roaring" on May 23, at Mrs. Douglass's benefit, when *Jane Shore* was played; and on May 25, when *Richard III.* was performed again, Miss Wainwright sang, "Thro' the Wood, Laddie," and Miss Hallam, "Vain is Beauty's gaudy Flower."

The members of this company who thus acquired a double reputation as singers and actors were: Mr. Stephen Woolls, Miss Wainwright, Mrs. Harman (a granddaughter of Colley Cibber), Miss Hallam, Mr. Wall and the Storer sisters. Mr. Woolls was the principal singer in the company. He was born in Bath in 1729, and made his first appearance in New York at the opening of the John Street Theatre in 1767, playing Gibbet in *The Beaux Stratagem* and Mercury in *Lethe*. He became a great favourite, and sang nearly till the time of his death, which occurred in New York in 1799. Miss Wainwright appeared in New York with Mr. Woolls as Cherry in *The Beaux Stratagem* and as Mrs. Riot in *Lethe*. She was also a native of England and was much admired for her sprightly performance of chambermaids and rustic characters. Gay comedy was her specialty. She was the principal female vocalist in the Douglass Company. Her name disappears in 1769.

It is very interesting to note that to the public some of the plays had special attractions that would not be considered so important to-day. For example,

in a performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, the funeral was specially mentioned in the advertisement. Very often the music and dancing between the acts was a greater attraction than the play itself.

There was considerable histrionic ability among the gentlemen of the city, who on occasion were willing to help the actors out of difficulties. In April,

Silver tea-set owned by Frederic J. de Peyster, Esq. See page 150.

1770, Othello was acted by an amateur, assisted by other gentlemen as the Doge and Senate. Box prices were charged for the pit on this occasion.

The theatre had the influential support of the Freemasons. There was a special performance in 1769, when the *Tender Husband* was first given here. The brethren met at Mr. Burns's and walked to the theatre in procession.

On another occasion, all the beauty and fashion crowded to the theatre to see Indian chiefs give a war-dance.

Before the Revolution, several plays were mounted with a good deal of splendour and magnificence. Two instances occur in May, 1773, which are described by the critic as follows:

"Last Wednesday the play of *The Tempest or the Inchanted Island*, written by Shakespeare and altered by Dryden, was performed at the theatre in this city to a numerous and brilliant audience with universal applause; the machinery is elegant and the whole is allowed to be one of the most pleasing pieces that has made its appearance on the American stage."

"The scenery, decorations, dresses and machinery of the opera of *Cymon* to be performed this evening are allowed by the most critical judges of theatrical splendour to be more magnificent than could be expected at so early a period on the American stage. During its run at Philadelphia, several gentlemen from London attended the representation and made comparisons much to the honour of our infant western theatre. We are informed that as it is so very late in the season it can only be performed one night."

[The silver bowl on page 260 is a very early model of native manufacture. It belonged to the first President of Columbia College. The chairs on page 282 are patterns that were just coming into fashion at the close of our period.]

The brig *Thomas*. (1767.)

III

MUSIC

Among the accomplishments and entertainments, music held no small place; yet the music of colonial days differed very greatly from the art in favour at the present time. The world's popular composers then were Handel, Bach, Corelli, the two Scarlattis, Hasse, Jomelli, Haydn, Rameau, Purcell, Lulli, Gluck, Boccherini, Arne, Piccini, Geminiani and Tartini. We shall presently find that the music of these men was well-known in New York.

Vocal music was extremely florid. The air, invariably suave and sentimental, was overladen with ornamental turns, trills and flute-like runs and scale passages, demanding much execution, as well as grace and style, from the performers of both sexes.

The symphony had not yet been developed, for Haydn was now writing his chamber-music and had not produced those works that set the stamp upon this form. The sonata was barely throwing off the shackles of the suite, and in it the dance-forms still lingered, as they did in the quartets and quintets. Therefore, the most familiar forms of instrumental music were minuets, gigues, gavottes, rigadoons, sarabandes, allemandes, courantes, passepieds, bourrées, and chaconnes.

The violin was extremely popular, largely because

of the good music that had lately been written for it. The great Corelli, called by the Italians "il divino,"

Harpsichord made by Jacobus Kirkman (London, 1769). From Mr. Morris Steinert's collection of old instruments. (See page 293.)

had, of course, published his sonatas, which are models of the classical style. Tartini, who founded a

very important violin-school at Padua in 1728, was constantly composing concertos and sonatas, among them the famous *Sonate du Diable, or Tartini's Dream;* and Geminiani, a pupil of Corelli's, who had settled in London in 1714, enjoyed the greatest vogue. He wrote many sonatas (a few of which he arranged for the 'cello), concertos and other solo pieces. Geminiani was the first in any country to bring out a book on the *Art of Playing the Violin.* This was published in London in 1740,—six years before Leopold Mozart issued his *Violin School.* He also wrote the *Art of Playing the Guitar*, the *Art of Accompaniment*, a *Treatise on Memory* and a *Treatise on Good Taste.* All of these books could be bought in New York at Rivington's. That Geminiani and Corelli were known to the music-lovers of New York is evident from the advertisement of Mrs. Tanner, a milliner in Smith Street, who offered for sale, in 1761, "A choice collection of Music by the most eminent composers, such as Handel, Arne, Corelli, Geminiani, etc., etc."

This alone is sufficient to prove that in music New York kept up with Europe. It may be instructive to give here a list of the music that was actually on sale at Rivington's in 1773. Taking the harpsichord, spinet, Piano Forte and Organ first, we find: Bach's Sonatas; Handel's Voluntaries; Lord Kelly's Overtures; Garth's Sonatas; Parry's airs (and also for the harp); Alcock's Lessons; Pasquali's *Thorough Bass;* Pasquali's *Art of Fingering;* Boccherini's Six Sonatas; Giordani's Six Sonatas; Graaf's Symphonies; and Fisher's and Esher's Symphonies.

For the Violin, Mr. Rivington is selling: Bocche-

rini's Duets; Van Maldere's Overture; Tartini's Two Solos; Bach's Six Symphonies; Giordani's Quartettos; Schwmdl's Choice Airs; Fischer's Duet; Campioni's Trios; Geminiani's *Art of Playing on the Violin;* Just's Divertiments; Giardani's Solos; Martini's Sonatas; Geminiani *On Good Taste;* Geminiani *On True Taste;* Just's Sonatinas; Essex *Orpheus;* 24 Italian and Spanish Minuets; and 24 Italian and Spanish Country Dances.

For the German Flute, he had: Blanck's solos; Magherini's trios; Tacet's duets and preludes; Miller's solos; Giordani's six chamber concertos; Bach's six quartettos; Bem's six quartettos; Misliweckek's Trios; Patoni's sonatas; Holyoke's Duettos; Airs and Songs in the *Golden Pippin;* Florio's Duetts; Stamitz's Duetts; Campioni's Duetts; Capelliti's Twelve Sonatas; Bates's Duetts; Kernlt's Duetts; Col. Reid's Solos; and Dutch minuets. For the guitar, there are: Citralini's Six Divertiments; Thackeray's Forty-four Airs and Divertiments; and Airs from *Love in a Village*, *The Padlock*, the *Ladies' Frolick*, *Cymon*, and the new *Golden Pippin;* Arnold's Twenty-four Lessons, Twelve new Songs and a Cantata; Melgrove's Forty Lessons for One or Two Guitars; Hymns and Songs sung at the Magdalen; Alcock's Divertiments and Songs; Bach's Sonatas; Noferi's Six Lessons; Haxby's Easy Airs; Twelve Lessons by a Lady; and Dibdin's Institution of the Garter.

Rivington was also supplying at this date tutors, or instructors, for playing on the harpsichord and pianoforte, violin, German flute, fife, bassoon, hautboy, French horn, clarinet, and for learning to sing. He

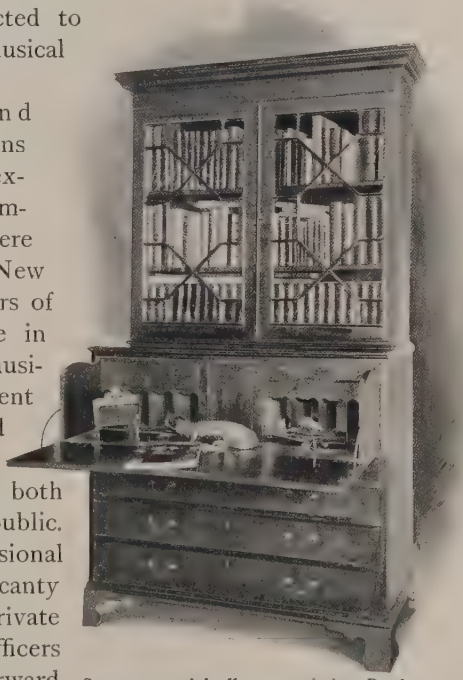
also imported what was, no doubt, exceedingly popular: "English operas with all the songs, arranged for the harpsichord, Pianoforte, etc., etc." These included: *Lionel and Clarissa*, *Cymon*, *Golden Pippin*, *Maid of the Mill*, *Love in a Village*, *Institution of the Garter*, *Ladies' Frolick*, *The Portrait*, *La buona figlioula*, *Hob in the Well*, *Dibdin's King Arthur* and *Midas*.

It is very doubtful if women played the violin in colonial days; but there must have been a great number of violin students in New York, for teachers of the violin seem to have succeeded. Some one was greatly distressed in 1757 by the loss of some violin music. On Feb. 21st of that year, we read: "Lost; a musick-book, the principal fiddle of twelve concertos, entitled Dominico Scarlatti's Lessons, etc., made into Concertos by Charles Avison."

At this period, Quantz was composing for Frederick the Great, who had brought the flute into special prominence. We constantly find the "German flute" on the concert programmes and several musicians were able to teach it in New York. The spinet, clavichord, and harpsichord were found in every home of affluence. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavichord* and Handel's *English* and *French Suites* were probably thrummed or played by every young lady. The *Harmonious Blacksmith* was doubtless a favourite show-piece.

Music was a social accomplishment, and formed part of the equipment of the fashionable, wealthy and well-educated man. Although music-lovers of the present day may despise the old-fashioned music of the days before Mozart, there was very real love of

what music existed, and glees and madrigals and catches were to be heard on every public occasion. Moreover, every man of education was expected to be a competent musical critic.



Secretary originally owned by Ryck Suydam of Flatbush, L. I.; now by Mrs. Henry Draper. See page 111.

Glee-clubs and musical associations like those that existed in such numbers in England were also found in New York. The officers of the garrison were in many cases able musicians, and the opulent class here joined them in frequent musical evenings both private and public. When the professional musicians were scanty in numbers, private gentlemen and officers always came forward to reinforce the orchestra. As a rule, however, we do not find that the ladies took any part in public concerts. When a musical entertainment was given by the officers of the Fort and the gentry of the city, the evening usually ended in a "ball for the ladies." Profes-

sional concerts were advertised with the same attraction. The arrival of an officer, or merchant, who was an amateur musician of ability, was eagerly welcomed. Local music-lovers lost no time in introducing him to the town. An instance of this occurs on Oct. 17, 1765:

"This evening will be a concert of vocal and instrumental music at Mr. Burns's Assembly Room—the first violin to be performed by a gentleman lately arrived. A solo on the violin by the same hand. The other instrumental parts by gentlemen of the town."

The devotees of music were so numerous here that a Harmonic Society existed and gave concerts, and sometimes assisted at special dramatic and musical entertainments. This organization had the most distinguished support that the society of the day could afford, as it was recruited from the best circles.

At a concert in 1773, a Mr. Zedwitz conducted and played first violin; and the other instrumental parts were performed by the "gentlemen of the Harmonic Society."

On April 24, 1774, there was a subscription concert for Signora Mazzanti, Mr. Zedwitz, and Mr. Hulett. We learn from the advertisements that "the gentlemen of the Harmonic Society have promised their assistance, and that Signora Mazzanti will sing several English and Italian songs." The tickets were $1.00. After the concert, a dance was promised.

Music was more a part of the social life than it is to-day. It was not uncommon to have several instruments in one house. For example, Governor

Burnet possessed a number of instruments, including a large bass violin, two treble violins, a harpsichord, a clapsichord, a double courtel, and a large violin, or tenor fiddle (a viola). This would show that quartets and quintets were not uncommon enjoyments within his walls.

It was perfectly possible to buy very good instruments in New York. Many persons, of course, brought their own with them from England and carried them home when they returned. Occasionally, too, through a death or a sale of household goods, a fine instrument could be obtained. For example, in 1752, there was for sale "a good English spinet (Hitchcock's). Enquire of the Printer." Hitchcock was one of the best London makers. Undoubtedly the one just mentioned was similar to the spinet shown on page 278, belonging to the collection of Mr. M. Steinert of New Haven, Conn.

One of the characteristics of New York always was that of purchasing the best that could be obtained, and therefore it is not surprising to find that the most fashionable London instruments were in demand. Hitchcock's was not a new firm, as their instruments had been in favour even during the reign of Charles II. The spinet mentioned above was made by Hitchcock about 1750. Another instrument of that period, also belonging to the Steinert Collection, appears on page 287. This is a harpsichord with two keyboards of five octaves and stops. It was made in London in 1769 by Jacobus Kirkman.

Manuel Josephson sold at his store in Smith

Street, in 1761, "brass trumpets and French horns." Those who wanted to buy violins, flutes, fifes, and other instruments could get them at John Anderson's, on Peck's Slip.

Organs could be procured, in 1756, from Mr. Willet, who made them. Another organ-builder was Frederick Heyer, who, in 1773, living in Broadway near St. Paul's Church, "makes and repairs harpsichords and spinets in the neatest manner and with despatch. Has some new and very neat Harpsichords for sale; also a Chamber Organ which may in a short time be completely finished and enlarged (if that be necessary) to suit a place of public worship."

Portrait of William Walton, owned by the New York Historical Society. See page 385.

In 1773, Rivington had "Forte Pianos of excellent tones from £27 to £30; violins from £3–4–0 to £14; Violins of lower prices; French horns, E with crooks; German flutes of all kinds; voice flutes, hautboys, English or common flutes, fifes, tabors and pipes; pitch-pipes, tuning-forks, harpsichord and spinet hammers, crow quills, harpsichord and Forte Piano wire; rosin boxes; mutes for violins; mouth pieces for German flutes; mouth pieces for French horns; pens to rule musick; ruled books of all sizes; violin bows, the Giardini sort; bridges and pegs for

fiddles with and without screws ; bassoon, hautboy and bagpipe reeds, with and without cases; desks for harpsichords ; violin cases ; the best Italian strings for violins ; violoncellos ; genuine German wire for harpsichords, spinets, piano fortes ; guitars ; also silk strings for guitars."

New York was well supplied with music teachers. The one who seems to have had the greatest influence was William Charles Hulett, who came in 1753 with the Hallam company. He taught the violin, and in 1764 opened a music-school where the violin, German flute and the guitar were taught. Another was Mr. Charles Love, also of London, who announced in 1753 that he "teaches gentlemen the violin, hautboy, German and common flutes, bassoon, French horn, tenor and bass viol." Mr. Proctor, a teacher of the harpsichord, Mr. Alexander V. Dienval, who "teaches the violin, German flute, tenor and bass viol," and Peter Pelham, who teaches the harpsichord, spinet and "Rules of thorough bass" were the other important names down to the middle of the century.

Without doubt, the best *musician* with whom New York was acquainted was Mr. William Tuckey from Bristol, who noticed the general neglect of singing, and in his bid for favour gave a very comprehensive account of the condition of music. He was an organist, a choir-master and a composer, and could play and teach the harpsichord. Mr. Tuckey evidently desired to provide the city with plenty of good music and to elevate its taste. Mr. Tuckey may speak for himself, even if he is somewhat egotistical. In 1754, he published the following :

"William Tuckey, singing-master, desires to inform all lovers of psalmody that in order to encourage and amend the singing in public congregations in this city, all persons may be taught by him on very reasonable terms. As a great expectation of encouragement in this way was the only motive which induced him to leave the cathedral of Bristol, whereof he was for several years vicar choral, and clerk of a parish also in said city, places of considerable profit and on an establishment of both for life; and not meeting the encouragement he expected, is resolved to teach here no longer than one year more, which may be depended on. And as there is no person in this country duly qualified in the musical way, who has made a practice of teaching but himself, not only in church music in all its branches, according to the English, Dutch, French, or Italian method, but also in the knowledge of a thorough bass and composing music in parts both vocal and instrumental, management of music for concerts, etc. He humbly hopes, through this information to meet with better encouragement, or at least to establish the singing of parochial psalms on a better and perfecter foundation than it hath been for some time past. He will undertake to compose, or set to music, any piece on any subject, divine or moral, either in prose or verse, and adapt the music according to the sense of the subject for the organ, harpsichord or spinnet, on application to him and a moderate satisfaction. Specimens of his composing may be seen at any time, by any gentlemen or ladies who desire it and understand music."

Teachers at the close of our period included James Leadbeater, organ, harpsichord and spinet; D. Propert, organ, harpsichord, guitar and German flute; Herman Zedwitz, "pupil of several of the most eminent masters now in London and Germany," violin; and Nicholas Biferi from Naples, "singing after the Italian way," the harpsichord, and composition. In 1774, the latter establishes an "Academy" for music, dancing and languages, his associates being Pietro

Sodi, dancing-master, and Joseph Cozani, who teaches French and Italian.

Concerts were a favourite form of entertainment. An advertisement as early as 1735, shows how fond amateurs were of playing:

"To-morrow, the 9th of March Instant, there will be a Consort of Music, Vocal and Instrumental, for the Benefit of Mr. Pachelbel. The Harpsicord Part performed by himself. The Songs, Violins and German Flute by private Hands. The Consort will begin precisely at 6 o'clock at the House of Robert Todd, Vintner."

Portrait of Mrs. William Walton, owned by the New York Historical Society. See page 385.

After this the concerts took place in the New Exchange, or Assembly Room. The price of admission averaged six shillings, the hour for beginning being six o'clock, and the concert usually ending with a ball. The teachers already mentioned frequently gave concerts for their own benefits, and were active in organizing subscription concerts. The latter was sometimes difficult, but Mr. Hulett, who for years took charge of these regular concerts, was evidently persistent. In 1767 we read:

"The Subscription Concert to be given this and every evening during the season exactly at Half Past Six o'clock. As many gentlemen were not to be found at Home when they were waited on with the Subscription Book, Mr. Hulett acquaints them that he will wait on them on the next Notice."

Again there were special concerts of special instruments—recitals we should call them to-day—like the following for March 18, 1756: "On Tuesday, the 18th instant, will be opened at the City Hall a New Organ, made by Gilbert Ash, where will be performed a concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music. (Two songs by Mr. Handel.) An organ concerto composed by Sigr. Giovanni Adolffo Hasse. For the benefit of a poor woman."

Benefit concerts were frequent, and, as a rule, the programme was both vocal and instrumental. At a benefit for Mr. Dienval in 1764, "at the conclusion of the performance will be sung a grand chorus song, accompanied with kettledrums and trumpets or clarinets." A concert for the benefit of William Cobham and William Tuckey, took place Dec. 29, 1755, at the New Exchange Room. The programme was composed of both vocal and instrumental music, and the numbers included: *Damon and Chloe*, composed by Dr. Arne; a two-part song in praise of a soldier, composed by the late famous Mr. Henry Purcell; and an ode on masonry accompanied with instruments and never performed in England but once in public; and a solo on the German flute by Mr. Cobham. "After the concert there will be a ball for the ladies."

Sometimes also there were benefits for the military band stationed at Fort George. For example, we read: "For the benefit of the Royal American Band of Musick on Monday, 2d April, 1767, will be held a concert of vocal and instrumental music at Mr. Burns's New Assembly Rooms." In 1775, also, a

public concert for the benefit of a band of music is to be held at Mr. Hull's Assembly Rooms."

The concert was a great feature at both Vauxhall and Ranelagh, and here Mr. Stephen Woolls, Miss Wainwright, Mrs. Harmon, Mrs. Hallam and the Storer sisters, frequently appeared. These singers often gave benefit concerts at Burns's Assembly Room.

A concert took place at Mr. Hull's Assembly Room on May 26, 1774, for the benefit of Mr. Biferi and Mr. Sodi: "The said concert will be divided into two Acts, each Act composed of four pieces. Mr. Biferi, master of music from Naples, will perform on the harpsichord a piece of music of his own composition with the orchestra; in the second act, he will perform a solo accompanied with the violin. There will follow a ball in which Mr. Sodi will dance the louvre and the minuet with Miss Sodi, a young lady nine years of age; and Miss Sodi will dance a rigadoon with young Mr. Hulett."

With regard to church music, we may be perfectly sure that after Mr. Tuckey came to New York in 1754, there was great improvement. A good organ made by John Clemm had been erected in Trinity Church in 1741, and in 1764, another, built by Snetzler, was brought from England and put in its place. It is natural to suppose that the music composed by the leading choir-masters and organists of England was known here. The following, printed on Oct. 16, 1766, gives us some hint of what was popular:

"By particular desire of a good number of ladies and gentlemen of credit and character in this city, there will be a con-

cert of vocal and instrumental music at Mr. Burns's new room on Thursday the 30th Inst.; to begin at six o'clock in the Evening.

"This concert will consist of nothing but Church Music in which will be introduced a new Te Deum, Jubilate Deo, Cantate Domino and Deus Magnificatur with an Anthem (in which there is an *obbligato* part for a harp, as there also is in the Cantate Domino) with several other pieces of church music intermixed with other instrumental performances in order to ease the voices. The whole to conclude with a Martial Psalm (46th) accompanied with all the instruments and a pair of drums."

"Stage-Waggons kept by John Barnhill, Elm Street, Philadelphia, and John Mercereau at the New Blazing Star, near New York." (1768.)

IV

BALLS, ASSEMBLIES AND PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS

One of Society's chief diversions was dancing; but the dances of the Georgian age were far more graceful than those of to-day. We cannot doubt that there were many entertainments in private homes for which Mr. Lenzi and other caterers supplied the supper and made the table attractive with sweets, jellies, custards, cakes, syllabubs, wines and fruits. The slightest as well as the more important gathering, of persons furnished the excuse for a ball. We have seen that nearly every concert ended with a ball, or that "the proper music would wait on the ladies and gentlemen" after the programme had been played and sung.

Balls, as well as concerts, were given for the benefit of musicians, dancing-masters and others, and tickets were sold for these at four or five shillings.

The Assembly seems to have been a kind of dancing club or class that met regularly during the winter. It was composed of the most fashionable people of the city. In 1759, we read: "The Dancing Assembly will be opened at Mr. Edward Willet's on the evening of Dec. 8th, and will continue every other Thursday evening from that time during the season. Directors: Duane, Walton, M'Evers, Banyer." Two of these directors seem to have liked their social duties in

connection with this organization, for in 1763 we read :

"Several gentlemen have declined taking charge of the Dancing Assembly again as being a disagreeable and unthankful office. Therefore Charles M'Evers and C. Duane, being sensible of the advantage of so useful and polite an entertainment have taken charge till managers agreeable to the public shall be elected."

Philip Livingston and Thomas Hicks seem to have been elected, for their names are signed as managers. On Oct. 24, 1763, they announced that "The New York Subscription Assembly will begin at six of the clock this evening at Mr. Burns's Assembly Room in the Broad-Way." On Oct. 23, 1766, we read : "Dancing Assembly will be opened at Burns's long room on Thursday, the 30th Inst. at 6 P. M., and continued once every fortnight during the season." The managers were Gerard Walton, John Marston and William Seton.

Angelica Schuyler's gown, worn by her descendant, Miss Angelica Schuyler Church. See page 315.

These Dancing Assemblies were long in vogue ; and appear to have been among the most important entertainments that New York afforded. In an unpublished diary of the period written in 1741–'7 by Elisha Parker, a young lawyer who was born in New Jersey

in 1724, and came to New York in 1740 to study law with James Alexander, there is mention of these dances. Young Parker was studious and diligent, but found time to enjoy himself. He was well-connected and through the Alexanders had many opportunities for forming new acquaintances. His diary, unfortunately, is short and fragmentary. He lived at Mrs. Ver Planck's in the Broad-Way. He gives us a very clear idea of his daily life when he notes:

"Used to get up early and breakfast and go to Mr. Alexander's; write from eight till dinner-time; come to my lodgings and eat dinner; go back and write (I think) till six o'clock; then read with him in his room till supper-time."

"Came to New York where I spent the winter; lodged at Mrs. Vangelder's; spent chief of my time at Mr. Alexander's in the day; law and business at night; continued as we had done the winter before at mathematics with his son. At Morrisania with J. Depeyster; in December my grandmother dyed; in ye holidays the cocks fought. . . . Young assembly in Broadway; many entertainments by the parents of the young ladies, I think same the winter before. Mrs. Baker McIntosh, C. Breton officers, Harrison; Twelfth Cakes sometime the beginning of the winter." (1745.)

"Much frolicking this winter; at first not acquainted with any of the officers; David Johnston intimate; introduced to 'em; got intimate with Rob and Tyr. . . . Cards; diversions; more time spent with Ladies; few frolicks at their homes; Mrs. A's family in mourning; Dr. dead; J. V' Horne hurt himself; big foolish affair about big mistake; frolick at Mrs. Johnston's; Sam Bayard. . . . J. Stevens lodg'd sometimes with me at Mrs. Vangelder's; our jaunt to Morrisania in a slay; dined at J. Bass's with Ladies; young Assembly; asked also to the Old." (1747.)

Such were the pleasures of the day. One of the ladies with whom Mr. Parker used to frolic and

dance at these assemblies was Miss Catherine Alexander whom he subsequently married (see page 73). The dancing-academy seems to have been somewhat similar to the Assembly, if we may judge from the following announcement of Oct. 19, 1772: "The dancing academy begins Thursday the 22nd inst. John Reade, John Jay, Robert S. Livingston, Junr. Managers."

The entertainments given at the Fort were especially brilliant. The Governor frequently issued invitations which, naturally enough, were much sought after. His Majesty's birthday was always given up to demonstrations of every kind that could fill the hours of a holiday. In the evening there were several balls, the most distinguished being that given at His Excellency's home in the Fort. We cite a few contemporary descriptions of these demonstrations:

"His Majesty's Birthday, was observed here with the usual solemnity. Between the hours of eleven and twelve in the forenoon, his Excellency, our Governour was attended at his House in Fort George by the Council, Assembly, Merchants, and other Principal Gentlemen and Inhabitants of this and the adjacent Places. The Independent Companies posted here being under Arms and the Cannon round the Ramparts firing while His Majesty, the Queen's, the Prince's, the Royal Families, and their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Orange's Healths were drunk; and then followed the Healths of his Grace, the Duke of New-Castle, of the Duke of Grafton, of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, and many other Royal Healths. In the Evening the whole City was illuminated, his Excellency and Lady gave a splendid Ball and Supper at the Fort, where was the most Numerous and fine Appearance of Ladies and Gentlemen that had ever been known upon the like occasion." (1734.)

The anniversary of the King's accession and of the Queen's birthday were similarly observed. Of the King's birthday in 1735 we read:

"The Evening was concluded with all demonstrations of Loyalty and Joy. There was a Ball and Entertainment at the Fort at which the Appearance of Gentlemen and Ladies was very splendid, many of them in New Cloaths and very Rich in Honour of the Day."

"The Prince of Wales's Birthday was celebrated at the Black Horse in a most elegant and genteel Manner. There was a most magnificent Appearance of Gentlemen and Ladies. The Ball began with *French Dances*, and then the Company proceeded to *Country Dances*, upon which Mrs. Norris led up two new *Country Dances* made upon the Occasion; the first of which was called *The Prince of Wales*, and the second, *The Princess of Saxe-Gotha*, in Honour of the Day. There was a most sumptuous Entertainment afterward. At the conclusion of which the Honourable Rip Van Dam, Esq., president of His Majesty's Council began the Royal Healths, which

Dress owned originally by Susannah de Lancey, daughter of James de Lancey, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, 1747–1760, and acting Governor, 1757–1760. Worn by Miss Susan de Lancey Fenimore Cooper, who inherited it from her grandmother, Susan de Lancey.

were all drank in Bumpers. The whole was conducted with the utmost Decency, Mirth and Chearfulness." (1736.)

"A Jack was displayed all the day from a flagstaff on the south west bastion of Fort George, the City Regiment of Militia and troops were under arms, and reviewed by His Excellency George Clinton, Esq., our Governor, from the piazza of the City Hall, as they passed by from the Broad Way, where they had been drawn up, and they made a very handsome figure, his Excellency being attended by some of the Gentlemen of the Council, the Mayor, Corporation and Officers of the militia, entertained them in honour of the day with a most extraordinary glass of wine (such as is rare to be met with in any private house) from Hugh Crawford's near at hand, and there were drunk His Majesty's and other Royal Healths, under the discharge of twenty-one of the artillery of the Fort, His Majesty having now entered into the 65th year of his age.

"In the evening there was a private entertainment and ball at His Excellency's, consisting of a snug select company of the *choicest fruits* of the town, that were particularly invited for the purpose, the only entertainment of the kind that His Excellency's leisure has admitted of upon such public occasions during his administration; the company was very sociable, and the night concluded there as usual.

"The gentlemen that had not the honour to be invited to His Excellency's ball resolved not to be behindhand in their demonstrations of loyalty on this occasion, and therefore ordered a public entertainment to be provided against the evening at Mr. Ramsey's tavern, where there was a very splendid and beautiful appearance of ladies, such as would have graced an Assembly in England. There were several gentlemen of the Council and Corporation, and most of the principal merchants and other gentlemen in the city, that made up a gay and numerous assembly.

"The ball was opened about six o'clock, the city being illuminated from one end to the other, the supper was served up about ten, and notwithstanding the short warning given, there was the greatest variety this town or country could produce, and the tables were decorated in so neat and elegant a

manner as raised a general admiration and 'twas declared by good judges that never was a more magnificent entertainment in this country. The whole tables were taken up with ladies the length of two rooms laid into one, that the gentlemen's time was generally employed in waiting on them, and when they were done the gentlemen supplied their places. After supper, His Majesty's, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other Royal Healths were drunk, and then prosperity to the province, a speedy exportation of its enemies, etc.

Dress belonging to Judith Crommelin Ver Planck in 1760, worn by a member of the family.

"The whole affair was conducted with the utmost decency and decorum; there was the greatest gaiety, cheerfulness and complacency in every countenance. The ball was concluded about 5 A. M. and the night was passed in the general satisfaction, without the least incivility offered or offence taken by any one, which is scarce to be said on the like occasions. We are told this was distinguished by the title of the Country Ball." (1748.)

Birthdays of other important men afforded the opportunity for festivities. For example, on Jan. 17, 1765, the papers report: "Monday last, being the

birthday of the Marquis of Granby, Master of the Ordnance, in the evening an elegant entertainment was provided by the officers of the artillery, and several curious fireworks were exhibited in the fields."

There were a number of patriotic, benevolent, and political societies and social clubs in the city. Unfortunately the records of these organizations are scanty. One of the most important was that of St. George, the patron saint of England. This continued in existence until 1781. It seems to have been a very important social organization. St. George's Day (April 23) was always marked by some entertainment. For example:

"Friday last being the anniversary of St. George, his Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst gave a ball to the gentlemen and ladies of this city at Cranley's New Assembly Room. The company consisted of 69 ladies and as many gentlemen, all very richly dressed; and 'tis said the entertainment was the most elegant ever seen in America." (1762). In 1771 "a number of Englishmen descendants of Englishmen amounting on the whole to upward of 120, had an elegant entertainment at Bolton's in honour of the day . . . Twenty-three toasts were drunk and the company parted at early dawn in high good humour." Among those present were the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Dunmore, his Excellency Gen. Gage His Majesty's Attorney-General, the gentlemen of His Majesty's Council, and President John Tabor Kemp, Esq.

The Irishmen had their St. Patrick Society and the Scotchmen their St. Andrew Society.

"The anniversary feast of St. Patrick is to be celebrated on Wednesday, the 17th Inst. at the house of Mr. John Marshall, at Mount Pleasant, near the College. Gentlemen that please to attend will meet with the best usage." (1762.)

"Monday last being the anniversary of St. Patrick, tutelar saint of Ireland, was ushered in at the dawn with fifes and drums which produced a very agreeable harmony before the doors of many gentlemen of that nation, and others. Many of them assembled and spent a joyous though orderly evening at the house of Mr. Bardin in this city." (1766.) Twenty-three toasts were drunk.

"Last Monday the anniversary of St. Nicholas, otherwise called Santa Claus, was celebrated at Protestant Hall, at Mr. Waldron's, where a great number of the Sons of that ancient saint celebrated the day with great joy and festivity." (1773.)

Locket painted in the miniature style and set with diamonds; owned by Mrs. Martha Colgate Singleton. See page 315.

"March 7, 1774. Last Tuesday, being St. David's Day, a very elegant entertainment was given at Hull's in honour of their tutelar Saint, by the officers of H. M. Welsh Fusilears to their Excellencies the Governor and General and the gentlemen of the military establishment. Wednesday, another very elegant entertainment was given at Hull's His Excellency the Governor to the Honourable the Gentlemen of His Majesty's Council and to the gentlemen of the General Assembly."

"March 21, 1774. Tuesday morning last, the gentlemen who compose the most benevolent Society of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick gave a very elegant breakfast at Hull's to the principal ladies and gentlemen of this city in commemoration of the tutelar saint of Ireland."

"Friday last, being the anniversary of St. Andrew, the same was observed by the gentlemen of the Scots Society of this city, and others. A splendid and elegant dinner was provided at the house of Mr. John Thompson; the colours being displayed on board the ships in the harbour, particularly the ship *Prince William*, Capt. Bishop, was beautifully decorated. His Majesty, the Royal Family and the other loyal toasts were

drunk, while the cannon on board the *Prince William* were discharging. In the evening they went in procession to the theatre in Nassau Street attended by a vast concourse of people." (1753.)

"On Wednesday being St. Andrew's Day, the Resident and Honorary Members of the New York St. Andrew's Society held their Anniversary meeting at Scotch Johnny's where, agreeable to the intention of the charitable institution, a considerable sum of money, it is said, was collected for the use of the poor. After which as there happened to be a great many Scotch gentlemen belonging to the army in town, upwards of sixty members in all dined together in a most elegant manner. Many loyal and patriot toasts were drunk on the occasion, *heartily* yet *soberly*. In the evening, the same company gave a ball and entertainment at the Exchange Room and King's Arms Tavern to the town, at which a large and polite company of both sexes assembled. The ladies in particular made a most brilliant appearance, and it is thought there scarcely ever was before so great a number of elegantly dressed fine women seen together at one place in North America. As there was a great many of His Majesty's officers present, several too of the first rank, who had never before seen a public company of ladies in this part of the world, they were most agreeably surprised and struck with the charming sight! The whole was conducted with the utmost regularity, decency and elegance; and nothing but gaiety, good humour and universal satisfaction appeared from beginning to end." (1757.)

New York was never niggardly in greeting a distinguished individual. Slight as the following account of Jan. 5, 1756, may be, it furnishes us with an idea of the city's enthusiastic welcome to Sir William Johnson, the hero of the battle of Lake George:

"Last Tuesday, Major General Johnson arrived here from Albany; about 6 miles out of town he was met by a considerable number of gentlemen on horseback who conducted him to the King's Arms tavern, where most of the principal inhabitants

were assembled to congratulate him on his safe arrival. The ships in the habour saluted him as he passed the street, amidst the acclamations of the people. At night the city was beautifully illuminated and the general joy displayed on this occasion evidenced the high gratitude of the people for the singular services this gentleman has done his country in the late expedition."

Society was always glad to seize any opportunity for a social evening, a dance, or a feast. The officers of the garrison were foremost in promoting brilliant entertainments, and there was also much quiet conviviality among citizens. The following paragraphs may be quoted as instances:

"Monday last in the evening a grand entertainment was given by the gentlemen officers of the army to the ladies and gentlemen of this city; at which we hear there was the most numerous and brilliant appearance of both sexes that ever was known in this place." (Jan. 26, 1767.)

"The friends of Messrs. John Cruger, James De Lancey, Jacob Walton, and James Jauncey, who are inclined to spend a day together in a social manner, are requested to meet at Burns's Long Room to-morrow evening at six o'clock in order to fix the time." (Jan. 30, 1769.)

"On Monday evening there was a very numerous and most brilliant appearance of ladies at a ball in Hull's Assembly Room on occasion of Mrs. Tryons' and His Excellency our gracious Governor's departure for England." (April 11, 1774.)

There was a Flying Club advertised to meet on Nov. 21, 1773; and a Society of the Friendly Brothers in 1774, when we learn that the "concert which was to have been given at the Assembly Room is deferred on account of the public Breakfast of the Gentlemen who compose the Society of the Friendly Brothers. There was also a Social Club, which met in the winter

at Fraunces's Tavern. A function of much social brilliance, attended by the Governor and all the notabilities, was the annual Commencement of King's College. That of 1767 is typical of many.

Tea-table and silver mugs (1763–1764), owned by Thomas Barrow. See pages 112 and 138.

"Last Tuesday a Publick Commencement was held at St. George's Chapel in this City. His Excellency the Governor, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, several of the Members of His Majesty's Council and a polite, crowded, and splendid audience of Gentlemen and Ladies were pleased to honour the day with their Company.

"The Ceremony began with suitable prayer and an elegant Latin Oration by the Rev. Myles Cooper, A. M., President of the College: To these succeeded a very spirited Salutatory Oration by Mr. De Peyster, delivered with a very decent Action and proper Emphasis. Then followed Syllogistic Disputations in Latin upon the following Questions. The Bachelors Thesis, *An, Materia habeat in se vim activam?* The Negative also was maintained in a Latin Philosophical Dissertation by Mr. B. Cuyler.

"The Thesis for the Masters, was—*An, sublato statu futuro, ulla meneat ad virtutem obligatio?*

"The negative of which was strongly supported in another Latin composition by Mr. S. Bayard.

"A concise and full Refutation of Mr. Hobbes's Principles was offered in a masterly Manner, in an English essay on the much contested Position—*Ultrum Status Naturæ sit status Belli.*

"The Exercises being finished, the President conferred on the following young Gentlemen the Degree of Batchelor of Arts: Messrs. De Peyster and Cuyler. And the Degree of Master of Arts on Messrs. Verplanck, Livingston, Watts, Bayard, Wilkins, Hoffman and Marston.

"The Ceremony was succeeded by a polite English Valedictory oration, genteely addressed to the most respectable parts of the Audience, and gracefully delivered by Mr. Philip Livingston.

"Then followed a very proper and serious English Address from the President to the young Gentlemen; which with a suitable Prayer concluded the Business of the Day.—

"The Whole was conducted with great Propriety, Decency and Order, and to the Satisfaction of the Numerous and Polite Audience.

"His Excellency the Governour, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the Members of his Majesty's Council, and many Gentlemen of Distinction, honoured the Governors of the College with their Company in the College Hall at Dinner."

In 1771, a reporter became enthusiastic over the performances of the day:

"It is with sincere satisfaction we observe that the young gentlemen performed their several exercises with such propriety of pronunciation and gracefulness of gesture as obtained the highest applauses from the most numerous and respectable audience that ever assembled in this city on such an occasion. Every lover of his country and admirer of the sciences must have seen with joy so fair a train of youth, promising by their present improvements future excellence in their respective professions and consequential advantages to their country. A

correspondent observes that of the many excellent speeches delivered at our last Commencement, the following is perhaps not the least true, tho' it be not the most polite:

"*That* is a very learned young gentleman—a very young learned gentleman indeed. And after he has seen a little more of the world, and been kicked down stairs two or three times for his impertinence—he will be much the better for it."

During the first half of the century, the average New Yorker was too busy to care much about higher

Chairs owned by Cornelia Haring in 1765; now by her descendants, Mrs. Wilmot T. Cox and Mrs. French Ensor Chadwick. See page 315.

education. King's College was not founded till 1754. In 1748, Cadwallader Colden complained: "Tho' the Province of New York abounds certainly more in riches than any other of the Northern Colonies, yet there has been less care to propagate Knowledge or

Learning in it than anywhere else. The only principle of Life propagated among the young People is to get Money, and Men are only esteemed according to what they are worth,—that is, the Money they are possessed of."

Three dresses of the period are shown on pages 302, 305 and 307; the first belonged to Angelica Schuyler; the second to Susannah de Lancey, and the third to Judith Crommelin Ver Planck. They are worn by lineal descendants of the original owners. A locket of the period appears on page 309, painted with a figure of Ceres. This was a gift in England from John Austen to Martha Colgate and is now owned by their granddaughter, Mrs. Martha Colgate Singleton. The chairs on page 314 show the Chinese taste of the day as applied by Chippendale.

"House and Lot." (1767.)

V

SHOWS AND EXHIBITIONS

MARIONETTES, puppet-shows and waxworks were extremely popular. New exhibitions of this character were constantly being imported. Posture-makers, tumblers, acrobats, conjurers and rope-walkers not unfrequently appeared with these shows. Occasionally, the "artists" of the latter class, as they called themselves, considered themselves of sufficient importance to perform alone. In 1734, for instance, "is to be seen the famous German artist who is to perform the wonders of the world by dexterity of hand. The things he performs are too numerous to be enumerated here." We gain a good idea of these curious shows from the managers' own accounts, in 1747 and 1749:

"To be seen at the house of Mr. Hamilton Hewetson at the Sign of the Spread Eagle, near White-Hall Slip, Punch's Opera, Bateman or the Unhappy Marriage, with a fine Dialogue between Punch and his wife Joan. Acted by a set of lively figures from Philadelphia. Also a most curious Posture-Maker Boy, late from Dublin, who performs with the utmost Dexterity, most surprising Postures, transforming himself into a great number of various Shapes, together with a great Variety of Tumbling, exceeding pleasant and diverting; and many other curiosities too tedious to mention."

"To be seen at a large theatrical room next to the Sign of the Dolphin (built on purpose) near the workhouse, for the entertainment of gentlemen, ladies and others to-morrow even-

ing and to continue with different plays every week, Punch's company of comedians."

"This is to acquaint the curious that the effigies of the Royal Family and that of the Queen of Hungary—and other curiosities in wax are to be seen (from 7 A. M. to 6 P. M.) and as the stay of the said curiosities will be but a few days in town the price is reduced to 1/6 for each person. N. B. None to be admitted without present pay."

In 1753, a woman was attracting attention. Interesting as Mr. Dugee's feats were, the "Female Samson" must have created the most enthusiasm. The Dugees explained their performance as follows:

"(By Permission) Will be exhibited by Anthony Jacob Dugee, the young Indian, and little negro boy the accustomed surprising and entertaining performances on the stiff rope and slack wire (scarcely perceptible) together with the usual equilibries on the chairs and pins, as well by the black as the Indian boy. After which the company will be agreeably entertained with the wonderful feats of strength and activity of Mrs. Dugee which has given so much satisfaction to H. R. H. the Princess Dowager of Wales and the Royal Family of Great Britain that they were pleased to call her The Female Samson. I. She lies with her body extended between two chairs and bears an anvil of 300 lb. on her breast, and will suffer two men to strike it with sledge hammers. II. She will bear six men to stand on her breast lying in the same position. III. She will lift the above anvil by the hair of her head. IV. She will suffer a stone of 700 lb. to lye on her breast and throw it off six feet from her. In particular, Mr. Dugee will dance the stiff-rope with iron fetters on his feet. The whole to conclude with a dance called the Drunken Peasant."

No show, however, in the middle of the century could compare with the Tragedy of Young Bateman. It was thrilling. In 1756, we read:

"Now to be seen by the curious, at the house of Mr. Adam Vandenbergh in the Broadway, a curious musical machine

which represents the tragedy of Bateman, viz. First, two folding doors fly open, a curtain draws itself up, and exhibits a company of gentlemen and ladies, with knives and forks in motion, sat down to a wedding dinner. The bride having promised marriage to young Bateman, proving false and marrying old Jermain. Bateman hangs himself on her wedding-day. Four cupids fly down and carry Bateman away. The bride still enjoying herself at dinner, she at last falls from the table dead; and her rosy colour changes to a deadly paleness. After which, the Devil comes up, and carries her away. Here the curtain falls, and ends the first Act. The curtain drawing up a second time, instead of the wedding exhibits young Bateman laid in state, with the mourners about him, dressed in black coats and white hatbands; the room hung with escutcheons, and six ringers, in their shirts, ringing the bells. The representation of a carpenter's yard, with people at work, with several other moving figures."

Mahogany table, originally owned by Captain Daniel Cox; now by Wilmot Townsend Cox, Esq.

About the middle of the century, there was exhibited a splendid collection of waxworks which met with an unfortunate accident. The sad calamity is thus described:

"On Monday evening about six o'clock a fire was discovered in the house of Mrs. Wright, the ingenious artist in waxworks, and proprietor of the figures so nearly resembling the life which have for some time past been exhibited in this city to general satisfaction. The accident happened when Mrs. Wright was abroad, and only children at home; and was occasioned by one of them accidentally setting fire to a curtain inclosing some of the figures. The child for some time in vain endeavoured to extinguish the fire, which was soon committed

to the clothes of the figures and the wax of which they were composed. The neighbours immediately assembled and with the greatest care and expedition gave all possible assistance and preserving the household goods; the fire-engines played into the house, but tho' most of the waxwork was destroyed (together with some new pieces which Mrs. Wells, sister to Mrs. Wright, had lately brought from Charlestown, the whole amounting it is said to the value of several hundred pounds) yet she was so fortunate as to save the curious pieces of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, the Pennsylvania Farmer, and some others, which she still continues to exhibit; and we hear she proposes to repair the loss sustained by this fire as soon as possible, by making some new and curious pieces."

Two months later, the damage was repaired, the new pieces being the murder of Abel by Cain, and the treachery of Delilah to Samson. In 1767, an exhibition for the Benefit of the Poor was held. "In a commodious room, which is now fitted up in theatrical manner, for the accommodation of ladies and gentlemen, at the Sign of the Orange Tree on Golden Hill, will be presented the noted Bayly's performances by Dexterity of Hand, with a variety of curious Balances by the noted Hymes, lately arrived from Saddlers Wells; with the facetious humours of Mr. Punch, his family, and company of artificial comedians three feet high; a view of the sea with ships, mermaids, fish, sea-monsters, etc., which is allowed the most natural curiosity of the kind ever seen; and a court of twenty-five figures, or an assembly of maids and bachelors."

In addition to waxworks and other artificial figures, there was great interest in living monsters and curiosities. Animals familiar enough to us seem

to have excited the public considerably. These were shown in private houses and taverns. In 1749,

"We hear that Mr. Bonnin has got one of the greatest curiosities in nature. This wonderful phenomenon is beyond our power to describe as fully as to communicate an adequate idea of it. It is a crab fish, with most of its shell on both sides, preserved in its natural colour, and the spawn is petrified into a hard stone."

This, however, paled before the next exhibit which was offered in 1751:

"To be seen at the House of John Bonnin next door to Mr. Peter Brower's near the new Dutch Church a curious live Porcupine of various colours; a creature arm'd with Darts, which resemble Writing Pens, tho' of different Colours, and which he shoots at any Adversary with ease when angry or attack'd tho' otherwise of great good Humour and Gentleness. He will eat in the Presence of any Person, and is justly Esteemed a great Rarity in these Parts."

The obliging and altogether admirable porcupine had a rival for popular favour in the same year:

"Be seen at the House of Mr. Edward Willet at White Hall a Creature called a Japanese of about 2 Feet high, his Body resembling a human Body in all parts except the feet and tail: He walks upright and performs various Actions to Admiration such as walking upon a Line, hanging and swinging under it, exercising the Firelock, dances to any Tune and Sundry other Things too tedious to mention. The Sense and Agility of this Creature renders him worthy the Observation of the Curious."

In 1754, there was "To be seen at the house of Roger Magrah, a Living Allegator, full four feet long." In 1755, "Capt. Seymour in the ship, *Fame*, has brought in with him a young lioness of about two

foot high. He likewise had on board two ostriches which we are told he brought from the African coast, being fowls of that country, but they both died on the passage." In 1759, a buffalo and "a wild animal

Painted and japanned tray and plated soup-tureen, castors and cake-basket.
See pages 113 and 165.

lately from the Mississippi" and in 1769, we read "a Tyger to be seen at the King's Arm's Tavern on the Green. Price 6*d*. 'Tis a very beautiful animal." Again it was announced :

In 1773, "The wonderful electrical fish is exhibited at the house of John Rawdon, hairdresser, in Broad St.; also at Mr.

Allen's stables, near the Fly Market, a remarkable fine young elk. The fish has never (that we know of) been seen in the northern parts of America or Europe. Those who choose to gratify their curiosity by viewing this very extraordinary production of nature, at the small expense of two shillings each, are desired to attend speedily." The elk would receive visitors at 6d. for a grown person, and 3d. for a child.

For several years, Mr. Bonnin gave English prospects or views. On Dec. 12th he advertised "the first eight English prospects and next week the other eight, which are all that he has as yet shown." On Jan. 7, 1749, he promised that he would show seven English cathedrals; and on the same day, he announced:

"The great wager depending between some English and French gentlemen of this city, viz., whether the English palaces, gardens, etc., or the French ones, are the finest and most magnificent, is to be decided at Mr. Bonnin's room to-morrow if it proves good weather by a jury of twelve men who were never in Europe. This week twelve views of Venice not on the canals; next week twelve on the canals." The following week he gives twelve ships of all sizes in all stations of weather "and also prospects of Rome and Naples."

He understood the art of advertising. In 1748, the following was printed:

"We hear that Mr. Bonnin is so crowded with company to view his perspectives that he can scarce get even so much time as to eat, drink, or say his prayers, from the time he gets out of bed till he repairs to it again; and it is the opinion of some able physician that if he makes rich, it must be at the expense of the health of his body; and of some learned divines, that it must be at the expense of the welfare of his poor soul! Nay, his own old shipmates, who went a privateering with him, swear he would have stood a better chance for a fair wind to the haven of rest, and would have come to port with more

safety had he continued still aboard! They are a sett of sad dogs to talk so profanely of such a subject."

A few weeks later, the papers announced:

"Mr. Bonnin intended to go to-day to Long Island, but the people of all ranks and ages crowded to see him in such numbers all the week, which encouragement, together with the cries, tears and prayers of the populace, as he passes along the streets, to continue another week longer in town, have at last prevailed upon him to defer his removal till next week."

"It has now become the daily custom of our ladies of distinction to ask their husbands and sweethearts to treat them to a walk to Kensington, Hampton Court, Vaux Hall, Ranelagh House and other grand palaces and gardens in and about London, as naturally as if they lived by the Royal Exchange or St. Paul's; and, as in good weather they used to do, to treat them with a jaunt to Long Island or King's Bridge. To enforce their arguments, they insist upon it that there is less danger and expence in visiting the former than the latter place, and abundance more pleasure and instruction. In short, there's nobody can set up the least face for politeness and conversation without having been with Mr. Bonnin; and embellishing their discourses with making judicious and elaborate observations and criticisms on this, that, and the other building, improvement, or dress. So that instead of our travellers entertaining the ladies with their feigned and confused accounts of the fine palaces they have seen in England, the case is quite altered; for the ladies correct and often detect their false pretended description, and entertain them with a just, beautiful and regular one."

Anything of the description of a panorama, dissolving views (particularly those that showed foreign buildings and scenery), musical clocks, or microscopes always attracted an audience. Frequently, too, the men who owned such devices were bidden to exhibit their pictures in private houses, and if the apparatus

could not be removed, for a consideration the views were shown to a private audience at any hour that such exclusive ladies and gentlemen desired. What was evidently a diorama was shown in 1747:

"At the house of Mr. John Hays at the sign of St. Andrew's Cross, near the Fly Market, is to be seen a large moving machine or land and water skip, representing many things moving nearly imitating nature. N. B. If any gentlemen or ladies hath a mind to have private view of the same, they may, by giving two hours' warning beforehand."

Mahogany and gilded mirror, originally owned by Rutger Bleecker, of Albany; now by Mrs. Wilmot T. Cox. See page 98.

An exhibit that created something more than a ripple of excitement in the town in 1756 was heralded in the following notice: "That celebrated piece of mechanism, called the *Microcosm or World in Miniature*, is expected in town this day from Philadelphia." Everybody went to see it. A poetical description of it by an enthusiastic admirer alone filled two columns of a newspaper.

In 1763, the "Miniature city of Malaga" was shown at the house of Mr. Provoost, gunsmith, at the price of one shilling; and in 1764, the town had the advantage of seeing "Jerusalem, a view of that famous city, after a work of seven years." This "rep-

resents Jerusalem, the Temple of Solomon, his Royal Throne, the noted Houses, Towers and Hills; likewise the Sufferings of our Saviour from the Garden of Gethsemane to the Cross on the Hill of Golgotha; an artful piece of statuary, in which everything is exhibited in the most natural manner and worthy to be seen by the curious." In 1774 mechanical shows are offered. The first is:

"The unparallel'd Musical Clock, made by the great master of Machinery David Lockwood. This great curiosity performs by Springs only; it is a machine incomparable in its kind; it excells all others in the Beauty of its Structure; it is most entertaining in its Music, and plays the choicest Airs from the celebrated Operas with the greatest Nicety and Exactness. It performs with beautiful Graces, ingeniously and variously intermix'd, the French Horn Pieces, perform'd upon the Organ, German and Common Flute, Flageolet, etc., as Sonatas, Concertas, Marches, Minuets, Jiggs, and Scotch Airs, composed by Corelli, Alberoni, Mr. Handel, and other great and eminent Masters of Music."

The second is thus described:

"By desire of several Gentlemen and Ladies, The Solar or Camera Obscura Microscope which has given such general satisfaction, and so great a Concourse of Gentlemen and Ladies continually attend to see it, is now removed to the House of Mr. John Kip in Broad Street, where the Sun will serve all the Day long.

"It is the most entertaining of any Microscope whatsoever, and magnifies objects to a most surprising Degree. The Animalculae in several Sorts of Fluids, with many other living and dead Objects too tedious to mention, will be shown incredulously magnified, and at the same Time distinct, to the entire Satisfaction of the Spectators: As the circulation of the Blood in a Frog's Foot, a Flea, a Fish's Tail, and in many small Insects, that an Hundred of them will not exceed the Bigness

of a grain of Sand, with their young in them. This Curiosity was never shewn before by any Person that Travels."

Humorous illustrated lectures were also in vogue.

"By permission of His Excellency the Governor, Mr. Wall the comedian will exhibit at Mr. Hull's great Room on Wednesday Evening July 21, 1773, a new lecture written by the author of the much admired Lecture on Heads. The Paintings, etc., are entirely new and never before exhibited in America." It seems that this was a sort of stereopticon, or magic lantern exhibition accompanied with the usual entertaining and explanatory comments. It was in three parts and the excessive head dresses of the day were held up to ridicule. In the first part one of the topics was "the sheep's tail macaroni," and this was followed by the "thick stock ditto" and the "turn down collar." Among the subjects of the second part were: "Ladies Heads in High Taste, Men's Hats, Maccaroni Thanet, and Corded Thanet." Part III. included "Ladies High Head Dresses; Artificial Candle Light Face and the appearance of the same Face the next morning; the Grand Secret of Attraction, Two Portraits of the Same Lady in a good and ill Humour; Courtship and Matrimony; Matrimonial *Vis-à-vis*; and Complete Macaroni." The price of each ticket was five shillings. The managers assured the public that "Care will be taken to keep the Room cool."

Mahogany card table, owned by Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis. See page 111.

PART VII

MANNERS, FOOD AND CULTURE

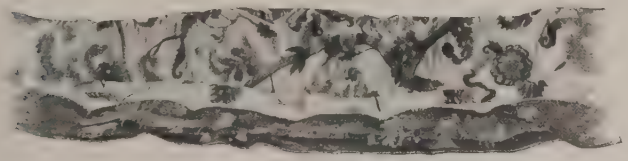
PART VII

MANNERS, FOOD AND CULTURE

I

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Both men and women of the upper classes were not only well educated, but were expected to have accomplishments. New York was rich in private schools and competent teachers. In the schools, mathematics, Greek, Latin, and modern languages received much attention, and it was usually the custom for the wives of school-masters to hold classes for young ladies, especially to instruct them in plain



Embroidery of the period in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames. See page 334.

and fancy needlework and embroidery. A very good idea of the ordinary school course is found as early as 1731, when "at the House of George Brownell near the Custom-House, are taught Reading, Writing, Cyphering, Merchants Accompts, Latin, Greek, etc.,

also Dancing, Plain-Work, Flourishing, Imbroidery and various sorts of works. Any persons may be taught as private as they please." Languages were of the utmost importance, as will be proved by the following advertisements:

"This is to give notice that over against the Sign of the Black Horse, in Smith Street, near the Old Dutch Church, is carefully taught the French and Spanish Languages after the best method that is now practized in Great Britain." (1735.) The terms were twenty shillings the quarter.

"John William Delisle wants to teach French to Ladies and Gentlemen at one pistole per month and six shillings entrance." He naïvely adds: "I hope I shall repair the character of those that are gone away with the public's money." (1749).

"Anthony Fiva has taught English, French, Spanish and Italian for these two years past." (1744.)

New Yorkers were always abreast of the latest European steps and dances. W. C. Hulett was as accomplished a dancer and dancing-master as he was a violinist, and taught both music and dancing. (See page 295). In 1753, he taught dancing and advertised himself as "late apprentice to Mr. Grenier of London, dancing-master." His success justified him in opening a Dancing-School in 1764. This was situated in French Church Street, near the Assembly Room. In 1775, he was still a fashionable master, keeping up with the newest dances, teaching "according to the present taste both in London and Paris," the following: "The Louvre; the Minuet; Dauphine; Rigadoon; Bretagne; Allemando; Double Minuet; Minuet by eight; Hornpipes; and the Cotillons and English Country-Dances." His chief rival at this time was Pietro Sodi, who had established with Biferi

and Cozani an academy for music, dancing and languages.

There were a number of other dancing-masters and schools; in many of the latter fencing was taught. Mr. Hulett began this fashion. Among the other dancing-masters were: John Rivers, who opened a dancing and fencing school in Stone Street in 1757, and kept "a public dance Monday evenings"; William Turner, who had a dancing and fencing school over the Royal Exchange in 1764; Du Poke and De St. Pry, who opened a French, Fencing and Dancing Academy in Little Dock Street in 1775, where they taught "French jigs, hornpipes, cotillons, German dances and French country dances of all kinds in the most approved and modern taste"; and William Tetley, whom we find in 1775, announcing that "he served an apprenticeship under Mons. Gherarde, of London." He also "paints oil and miniature portraits, and teaches drawing."

To be a graceful and skillful fencer was the ambition of every gentleman. Swords were worn and whipped from their scabbards at the slightest provocation. It was therefore necessary to understand the art of defence. Fencing was—and properly—considered one of the best aids to a graceful carriage, ease of movement, and courtly manners. Gentlemen could take their lessons in the academies, or the teachers would wait upon them at their houses. One of the best fencing-masters thus drew attention to himself:

"These are to give notice to all gentlemen who desire to learn the right Method and true Art of Defence and pursuit of the small sword in its greatest Perfection, and extraordinary

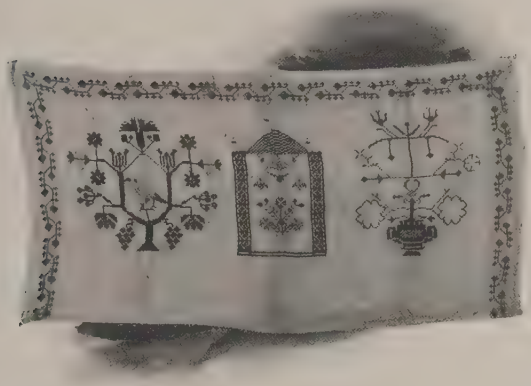
quick and speedy with all the guard, Parades, Mounts and lessons thereto belonging, fully described, and the best Rule for Playing against Artists or Others with Blunts or Sharps; that they may be taught the same by me Richard Lyneall, Professor and Master of the said Art, who is to be spoke with at the House of Mrs. Elizabeth Parmyster in Beaver St. Note, he teaches gentlemen either in Private or Publick by the month or by the whole." (1756).

A very accomplished fencer was Peter Viany who attained fashionable patronage. He lived near the Exchange and also taught dancing. He informed the public that "he has no dancing-room, but will teach privately at their homes the Minuet to ladies and gentlemen in two months' time." In 1769, he was still a fashionable teacher of both accomplishments, which is not astonishing, as he assured his patrons that "he teaches in the style of the best masters in Europe and their manner is discoverable in his scholars." A sword of the period is shown on page 263.

Painting was also an accomplishment. There was a Society for Promoting Arts, and every encouragement was given to artists of the brush and pencil. Drawing and painting were taught in the schools and teachers gave private lessons. A portrait-painter came to New York in 1754, and thus announced himself:

"Lawrence Kilburn, Limner, just arrived from London acquaints all gentlemen and ladies inclined to favour him in having their pictures drawn, that he dont doubt of pleasing them in taking a true likeness and finishing the drapery in a proper manner, as also in the choice of attitudes suitable to each person's age and sex and giving agreeable satisfaction, as he has heretofore done to gentlemen and ladies in London."

He succeeded by means of his portraits and lessons, for in 1765 he says: "At present there is no other portrait-painter in this city but himself." A rival portrait-painter was Abraham Delanoy who lived in New Dutch Church Street. In 1768, we read that



Sampler owned by Mrs. Charles S. Fairchild. See page 334.

John Durand has "from his infancy endeavoured to qualify himself in the art of historical painting" and "humbly hopes for that encouragement from the gentlemen and ladies of this city and province that so elegant and entertaining an art has always obtained from people of the most improved minds."

Painting on glass was a favourite art dating from the early part of the century. In 1745, Gerardus Duyckinck taught "any young Gentlemen the Art of Drawing with Painting on Glass"; and, in 1753, we learn that "By a person lately arrived in this Town,

Painting upon Glass (commonly called burning upon glass) is performed in a neat and curious manner so as never to change its colour. Perspective views neatly coloured for the Camera Obscura."

The ladies of our period were as accomplished in needlework as in cookery. Plain and fancy sewing was always a part of a gentlewoman's education. An idea of what was taught in a school especially for young ladies was shown in 1747, when "in the back part of Mr. Benson's Brew-House a school is opened to teach young Ladies Reading and Writing, all sorts of Needlework and the making of Artificial Flowers." Every girl was required to work a sampler. Specimens, owned by Mrs. Charles S. Fairchild, appear on pages 333 and 340. Ladies made many articles for their homes and many of the pretty things they wore. There were a great number of teachers. In 1731,

"Martha Gazley late from Great Britain, now in the City of New York, Makes and Teacheth the following Curious Works, viz, Artificial Fruit and Flowers, and other Wax-Work, Nuns-Work, Philligree and Pencil Work upon Muslin, all sorts of Needle-Work, and Raising of Paste, as also to Paint upon Glass and Transparant for Sconces, with other works. If any young Gentlewomen, or others are inclined to learn any or all of the above-mentioned curious Works, they may be carefully taught and instructed in the same."

In 1765, Mrs. Thomas Carroll, whose husband had a "mathematical school" in Broad Street, taught "Young Ladies plain work, samplars, French quilting, knoting for Bed Quilts or Toilets, Dresden flowering on Catgut, shading with silk on worsted or Cambrick, Lawn or Holland." A specimen of what she was able to teach appears on page 329.

In 1769, Clementina and Jane Fergusson taught "plain needlework, sampler, crowning, Dresden catgut, shading in silk on Holland or cambrick and in silk or worsted on canvas, as also all sorts of needlework in use for dress or furniture." In 1773, Mrs. Cole and William and Sarah Long, all from London, were teaching tambour work in gold and silver and embroidery; and in the next year Mrs. Belton was giving lessons in "tapestry, embroidery, catgut, sprigging of muslin, etc."

On page 273 is shown a small letter-case embroidered in green and red silk by one of the ladies of the day, Mrs. Cornelia Haring Jones, who put the date 1768 upon it. It is owned by her great-great-granddaughter, Mrs. French Ensor Chadwick. Another card- or letter-case is shown on page 263.

Sewing was made attractive. The work-boxes of the period were very beautifully made and fitted up with compartments and furnished with pretty ivory, steel, silver and gold implements of every kind. On page 388 some sewing articles are shown, a set of five pieces made of steel, ornamented with gold and silver; a stand with three reels for winding silk upon, and two "sewing-birds" with clamps to fasten them on the table. These stand upon a table after a design by J. C. Delafosse. Upon the table are also placed a Vernis Martin box with "Chinoiserie" decoration, a silver punch-ladle with ebony handle, and a pair of candlesticks. These are in the Museum, Cooper Union.

The needlework of the New York ladies was thus very delicate and beautiful: they were not accustomed to do any coarse work that would roughen their hands and fatigue their bodies. The high-heeled

shoe of the aristocratic and wealthy woman was accustomed to the pedal of the harpsichord, but had slight acquaintance with the spinning-wheel, and her hands that could sprig muslin or embroider catgut gauze in gold and silver had little knowledge of how to use the distaff. It seems that the spinning-wheel was practically unknown to the ladies of New York, who were quite satisfied to let it keep its proper place. The date of the following item is 1769:

"Three young Ladies at Huntington on Long Island, namely Ermina, Leticia and Sabina, having met together, agreed to try their Dexterity at the Spinning-Wheel; accordingly the next morning they sit themselves down, and like the Virtuous Woman, put their Hands to the Spindle and held the Distaff; at Evening they had 26 Skeins of good Linen Yarn each Skin containing 4 ounces, all which were the effects of that Day's Work only.

Spinning-wheel owned by the Duane family; now by Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox.

"N. B. It is hoped that the Ladies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, who have shown their skill and Industry at the spinning-wheel, will be sincerely pleased to find their laudable example so well imitated in Huntington, and that it has kindled a spirit of generous Emulation in the Ladies of New York Government; we hope the same Spirit will spread thro' the Continent. That the Ladies while they vie with each other in Skill and Industry in this profitable Employment, may vie with the men, in contributing to the Preservation and Prosperity of their Country, and equally share the Honour of it."

An old spinning-wheel is reproduced above.

There were many opportunities for reading and buying books. In the early part of the century, William Bradford, and later, Hugh Gaine, Garrat Noel and James Rivington, imported nearly everything that was in vogue in London. It is remarkable to see how quickly the new books arrived in New York. Chambers's *Universal Dictionary of all Arts and Science* was sold by William Bradford in 1733. Bibles, prayer-books, dictionaries, books on navigation, and calendars were always kept in stock; and the latest sensations, with sermons, novels and songs that were attracting attention abroad were always advertised.

The kind of books that we find most frequently on sale from 1744 to 1751 are: Bibles, Psalters, Testaments, Primers, Watts's Hymns, Seaman's Kalandars, School-books, Æsop's Fables, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Mrs. Rowe's *Devout Exercises*, *The Academy of Compliments*, *Laugh and be Fat*, *A History of Pirates*, *Reynard the Fox*, *Pamela*, *La Belle Assembly*, *Clarissa*, *Peregrine Pickle*, Gay's Fables, La Fontaine's Fables, *Tom Jones*, Heywood's novel, Abercromby's *History of Scotland*, *The Spectator*, *The Ladies Library* (3 vols.), *A History of Birds* (2 vols.), Voltaire's *Letters*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *A History of Buccaneers*, *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* (6 vols.), Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Thompson's *Seasons*, *Valentine and Orson*, *The Whole Duty of Man*, etc., etc.

It would be futile to continue the lists of books that were imported or republished by the printers and booksellers of New York, for they include all the new English publications. The London magazines came in with every ship,—and the *Gentleman's Maga-*

zine, the *Lady's Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, *La Belle Assemblée*, etc., etc., could be purchased by those who were not special subscribers. Children were not forgotten, for we find books imported for them, especially at the Christmas season: "Pretty Books for Children;" "Pretty Books for Little Masters and Mistresses," constantly appear. In 1767, Garrat Noel was good enough to give a list of juvenile literature. He informed readers that he had "a very large parcel of *Mr. Newberry's beautiful Gilt Picture books, for the Entertainment of his old friends, the pretty Masters and Misses of New York.* Among them they will find: *The History of Giles Gingerbread, Esq.; The History of Goody Two Shoes; Nurse Truelove's Christmas Box and New Year's Gift; The Easter, Whitsuntide and Valentine's Gift; The Fairing, or Golden Toy; The Little Lottery Book; Be Merry and Wise; Master Tommy Trapwits; Jests and Poems for Children Six Feet High;* and *Royal Primmer.*"

It was evidently the custom for many persons to buy their books in cheap covers and to have them bound to suit their own taste. As early as 1732, we learn that "Joseph Johnson, of the City of New York, Book-binder, is now set up Book-binding for himself as formerly and lives in Duke Street (commonly called Bayard's Street) near the Old Slip Market; where all Persons in Town or Country, may have their books carefully and neatly new bound, either Plain or Gilt Reasonable."

Persons who borrowed books were not always careful to return them. We read in 1748 and 1749:

"The she-person that has borrowed Mr. Tho. Brown's works from a gentleman she is well acquainted with, is desired to return them speedily."

"The person that so ingeniously borrowed Sir Isaac Newton's works out of my printing office is earnestly desired to return them speedily, they being none of my property."

Again, in 1763, some one sends the following to the papers:

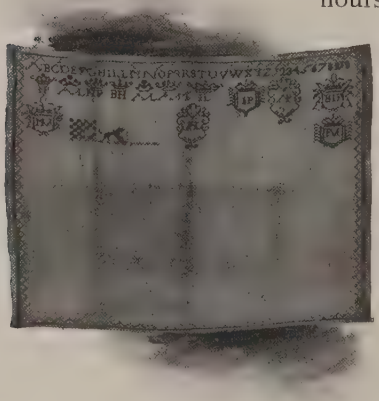
"Lent to some persons who have too much modesty to return them unasked—The first volume of Swift's works of a small edition. The ninth volume of the Critical Review. One volume of Tristram Shandy, and the first part of Candid. The owner's arms and name in each, who will be much obliged to the borrowers for the perusal of the above books when they have no further use for them."

There were two good libraries in the city. The oldest was the Society Library. On Oct. 21, 1754, the following notice was printed:

"Notice is hereby given to the proprietors of the New York Society Library that the books belonging to that library, lately imported, are placed for the present, by leave of the Corporation, in their library room in the City Hall; and that the same will be open twice in every week—i. e. on Tuesdays and Fridays from the hours of ten to twelve, when constant attendance will be given. The terms established by the trustees for the loan of books to non-subscribers are: to deposite in the hands of the librarian one third more than the value of the book borrowed, till it shall be returned, and to pay for the use of same when returned, as follows, viz: For a folio size, one month, 4*s*., for a quarto size, one month, 2*s*., octavo or lesser vol., one month, 1*s*. (one shilling per diem exceeding one month)."

Another circulating library owed its existence to the enterprise of Garrat Noel, the bookseller, who opened a library "consisting of several thousand vol-

umes" in 1763, next door to the Merchant's Coffee House. In 1765, he advertised: "All persons that choose to spend their leisure hours in reading may be supplied from this source of laudable amusement a whole year at the easy rate of four dollars."



Sampler owned by Mrs. Charles S. Fairchild. See page 334.

It may be interesting now to read a contemporary criticism of one of the popular novels of the day, written without any idea that it would be read save by the person to whom it was addressed. This is contained in a letter dated June 29, 1743, and was written to his sister, Mary Parker, by Elisha Parker (see pages 302–'3), who sent the last two volumes of *Pamela:*

"They are books that have been generally well esteemed of and read by your part of the world especially. I think 'em by far the most proper book of any I ever saw for the youth of both, but especially of your sex. Virtue is there painted in such lively and amiable colours with such great rewards attending it and the bad and its consequences of a vicious course of life so well described that it can't but deeply fix in the mind of an unprejudiced reader a lasting love of the one and utter abhorance of the other. I have too good an opinion

of you to think the assistance of books is wanted. However, the more virtuously inclined the mind of any person is, the more will it delight in hearing of virtue praised and this with the advantage that it will be got by reading a stile so beautiful and natural as the stile of *Pamela*."

Effigy of Mr. Rivington, the Tory printer, hung in New Brunswick. (1774.)

II

FOOD FROM THE FIELDS AND THE SEA

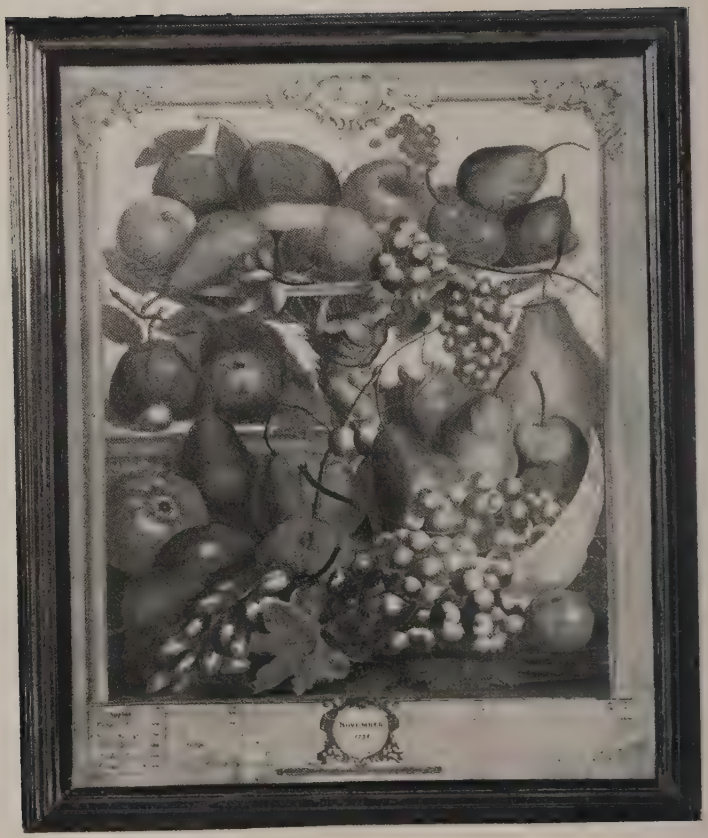
In former pages, the importance of kitchen gardens and orchards has been fully disclosed in the accounts of houses and estates for sale or lease. Fruits and vegetables were raised in large quantities from the earliest times. When the Dutch settled here, they brought with them their favourite salads, roots, greens, and fruits. They also found indigenous vegetables and fruits which they gladly cultivated and cooked. As good beer could be made here as at home, for wheat, rye, barley, oats, and corn were raised in profusion, while good hops grew wild in the woods.

Wild fruits that the land produced in great abundance included grapes of many varieties, mulberries, cherries, currants, plums, gooseberries, medlars, bilberries, blackberries, raspberries, cranberries and strawberries in such profusion that people lay down in the fields and gorged themselves with them. Edible nuts that enriched the sylvan ways were sweet acorns, chestnuts, beechnuts, walnuts, butternuts, and hazelnuts. Other wild products of which the settlers availed themselves were pignuts, artichokes, leeks, onions, peas, cucumbers, pumpkins, melons, watermelons, squash and other gourds.

The Dutch and English brought native seeds for

herbs and salads. We therefore find their gardens well supplied with beans, peas, turnips, cabbages, parsnips, carrots, beets, endive, succory, sorrel, dill, spinach, radishes, parsley, chevril (or sweet cicely), cress, onions, leeks, laurel, artichokes, asparagus, rosemary, lavender, hyssop, thyme, sage, marjoram, balm; holy onions, wormwood, belury, chives, clary, pimpernel, dragon's blood, five-finger, and tarragon. The pumpkin, despised at home, was held in high esteem in New York in very early days, where the English used it for pies. They also made a beverage from it.

Gardeners were in demand for useful even more than ornamental service. Advertisements of seeds by the Fort gardener and others were common, and seeds imported by merchants were also often announced. From these we see what a great variety of the different herbs, roots, and esculents were cultivated. In March, 1775, we find a long list of seeds advertised. These consisted of many varieties of cabbage, salad, carrot, spinach, turnip, endive and parsley; besides Italian broccoli, best Dutch cauliflower and cucumber; Zealand, blood-red, French white, and great Spanish onions; long, white and red radishes; "ramanarse," suckerye, rosemary, artichokes, parsnips, peppergrass, caraway, Winter leeks, Summer do., red beet, Dutch celery, great Flemish do., ketchup, thyme, fattacouse and several other sorts of seed. The varieties of cabbage seed were early great Battersea, flat white Brunswick, low brown head, Utrecht head, high brown curled, high green curled, fine blood-red, red head, early white, yellow Bloomingdale, low green curled, great Amsterdam savoy, and green savoy. The



Part of pictorial almanac (1732); originally owned by Governor William Livingston. Now in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames.

See pages 346–7.

"salad" seeds were Swedish, great yellow, large brown, great Berlin, small red, great Mogul, Spanish, speckled, yellow stone, small yellow, princes, cut head, large Amsterdam, sour, curled cut and early cut. The varieties of carrot were parsley, long yellow, long red, early, great yellow, schonanul and sugar carrot. The kinds of spinach were broad-leaved, round, small, and sour; then there were broad-leaved, curled and broad curled endive; and yellow Dutch, green, curled and French parsley. The varieties of turnip included yellow, white, early, cabbage, above-ground, underground, long French and white.

Fruits were cultivated with equal assiduity. The best English and Dutch stocks were imported, and when possible grafted on the native trees to produce new and hardy varieties. The consequence was that in many cases New York orchards lost nothing by comparison with the best in Europe. The natural advantages of soil and climate enabled the local nurseryman to raise pomology to a rare degree of excellence. In 1769, for example, *William Prince*, of Flushing, had the following varieties of fruit trees:

English cherries: May Dukes, Black, White, Bleeding, Amber hearts and Red hearts, Coronations, Honey, Kentish, Mazerine, Morello cherry.

Nectarines: The Fair Child Early, Large Green Clingstone, Yellow, Yellow Roman, Red Roman, Elruge, Temples, Brugnon or Italian.

Plums: Green Gage, Yellow Egg (as big as a hen's egg), White Sweet do. (bigger), Orleans do. (very large and fine), Imperatrice, Red Imperial, White Imperial, Drap d'Or, Royal, Apricot, White Bona Magnum, Vilet Pardegel, Red Diepper, Whiteten, Jean Hative, Precose Deture, Fotherings, Perdigron,

White Perdigron, Damis Vilet, La Prune Valure, Brig Nole, Carline, White Damson, Large Red Sweet, Large Holland, Early Sweet Damson, Late Sweet Damson.

Apricots: Large Early, Large French Brussels, Breda, Orange, Masculine, Bloucht, Algier, Roman, Turkey, Small Sweet.

Peaches: Rare Ripe, Early Nutmeg (ripe in July), Old Newington, New Newington, Large Early, Large Early Clingstone, Large Red Clingstone (weighs from 11 to 15 oz.), Yellow Clingstone called the Carolina Canada (weighs 1 lb.), Barcelona Yellow Clingstone, Murketong, Large Red Stone (10 to 15 oz.), Large Yellow Clingstone (ripe Oct. 15th, 10 to 12 oz.), Large White, do. (14 oz.), Large Lemon, do., English Double Rose, Large Yellow Malagatune, Large Yellow Winter Clingstone, Large White Stone, White Winter Clingstone, Blood Peach, Carolina Red Cheek Malagatune, Western Newington, Elizabeth, Yellow Catharine.

Pears: Burgamot, Catharine, Vergalue, July, Monsieur Jean, Tromp Valet, French Primitive, Winter Bon Chretien, Easter Burgamot, Amber, Chaumontel, Russelet, Early Sugar, Burie Vert, Winter Burie, Burie de Roy, Green Chizell, Swan's Egg, Colmar, Crassan, Spanish Bon Chretien, Large Bell, Citron de Camis, Summer Burgamot, Autumn Burgamot, Brocause Burgamot, Winter Burgamot, Hampden's Burgamot, Ammerzell, Lent Sangermain, Gergenell, Rouselon, Cuffe Madam, Green Catharine, La Chasserie, Yourdal's Sangermain, Orange, Large Winter (near 21 lbs.), Pear Wardens, Empress, Large Summer Baking.

Apples: Newtown Pippins, White Pippins, Large Pippins, Golden Pippins, Æsopus Spitzenburgh, Newtown Spitzenburgh, Pearmains, Vandevels, Large Red and Green (ripe at Midsummer, weighs over 1 lb.), Genneting, Bow, English Codlin, Red Streaks, Jersey Greens, Golden Rennets, Russitons, Lady, Non Parrel, Lidington, Rhode Island Greening, Swar, Large White Sweeting, Bell Flower."

Some of the names of these varieties appear beneath an almanac shown on page 344. Upon this

is written, "From the collection of Robert Furber, Gardener at South Kensington, 1732, and sold by Thomas Bakewell, Birchin Lane, Cornhill, London. This hung in the state dining-room in Elizabeth, N. J."

Not content with what their own orchards could supply, rich New Yorkers imported the fruits of the West Indies. Pineapples were regularly on the market. Watermelons were early taken into favour. Kalm says: "The watermelons which are cultivated near the town grow very large; they are extremely delicious and are better than in other parts of North America, though they are planted in the open fields and never in a hot-bed. I saw a water-melon at Governor Clinton's in September, 1750, which weighed forty-seven English pounds, and at a merchant's in town another of forty-two pounds weight; however, they were reckoned the biggest ever seen in this country." In August, 1774, an item read: "A watermelon was last week cut at a gentleman's table in this city that grew in his own garden on this island, that weighed no less than 50 lbs."

The fish caught in the fresh waters of New York province from the earliest days were salmon, sturgeon, striped bass, drums, shad, carp, perch, pike, trout, thick-heads, suckers, sunfish, catfish, eels, lampreys, divers, mullets, or frost-fish. The sea-food comprised cod, weakfish, halibut, herring, mackerel, thornback, flounders, plaice, bream, blackfish, lobsters, oysters, crabs, mussels, periwinkles, shrimps, lobsters, clams, turtles, and porpoises. Sturgeon were plentiful in the Hudson, but only the small size was eaten. The roe

was highly prized for caviare by the English. Sturgeon was also pickled for market. In 1765, John Alexander & Co. advertised New York pickled sturgeon and vaunted its superiority "both as to the quality of the fish and the richness of the pickle."

Coenties Slip Market (established 1691) was the Billingsgate of New York, and was known as the Great Fish Market. In 1721, Josiah Quincy petitioned the Corporation "for land at or near Kings-

Wine bottles and glasses and copper tea-kettle; now in the Museum of the New York Colonial Dames. See pages 163 and 164.

bridge to erect a fishery, with liberty to fish in the river at that place; and proposes to supply the markets at New York with fish very fresh and at very easy rates, and in payment, rendering therefore yearly on every fourteenth day of October to this Corporation a good dish of fresh fish." Five years later, the General Assembly granted to Lewis De Langloiserie the sole right to the porpoise fishery within this province for ten years.

Shell-fish were particularly esteemed. This sea-

food was always plentiful. During the Dutch rule, writers had remarked the abundance and excellence of lobsters, crabs, periwinkles, oysters, clams, mussels, shrimps and turtles. Some of the lobsters were enormous "being from five to six feet in length; others again are from a foot to a foot and a half long, which are the best for the table." Most important of all shell-fish was the oyster, very extensive beds of which existed in the adjacent waters. The oysters, lobsters and other fish were to be found at the very doors of many of the country-seats on this island and the islands in the bay. The provisions afforded by Nature have appeared in some advertisements already quoted. The following appears in 1772:

"Little Bern Island at public auction, belonging to the estate of Mr. St. George Talbot, deceased, situate opposite New Harlem Church, in the out-ward of this City, containing upwards of one hundred acres of land and meadows. It abounds with wild fowl, as ducks, geese, pidgeons, quails, etc., and has the advantage of a fine seine fishery, and black-fish, oysters, lobsters, etc. Being in the vicinity of New York, the produce may be brought to the Fly Market with the tide of ebb, and the flood will waft the craft home."

New York oysters were always very fine. They were eaten raw, and cooked in almost as many ways as they are to-day. Moreover, every good hotel had pickled oysters on its bill of fare; and they were exported in large quantities. In 1774, Abraham Delanoy announced that he "pickles oysters and lobsters; and puts up fried oysters so as to keep a considerable time even in a hot climate." In 1753, a writer testified:

"Though we abound in no one kind of fish sufficient for a staple, yet such is our happiness in this article that not one of the colonies affords a fish market of such a plentiful variety as ours. Boston has none but sea-fish, and of these Philadelphia is entirely destitute, being only furnished with the fish of a fresh water river . New York is sufficiently supplied with both sorts. Nor ought our vast plenty of oysters to pass without particular observation; in their quality they are exceeded by those of no country whatever. People of all ranks amongst us in general prefer them to any other kind of food. Nor is anything wanting, save a little of the filings of copper, to render them equally relishing, even to an English palate, with the best from Colchester. They continue good eight months in the year, and are for two months longer the daily food of our poor. Their beds are within view of the town, and I am informed that an oysterman, industriously employed, may clear eight or ten shillings a day."

In 1771, attention was called to the law to prevent the giving or selling of unripe fruit and oysters within the city of New York. There was a £3 penalty for bringing in oysters during May, June, July and August.

Terrapin was eaten here two centuries and a half ago. New Yorkers of the Eighteenth Century were as fond as a London alderman of turtle. The Rev. Mr. Burnaby notes: "There are several houses pleasantly situated upon the East River where it is common to have turtle feasts; these happen once or twice a week. Thirty or forty gentlemen and ladies meet to dine together, drink tea in the afternoon, fish, and amuse themselves till evening, and then return home in Italian chaises—a gentleman and lady in each chaise. In the way there is a bridge, about three miles distant from New York which you always pass over as you

return, called the Kissing Bridge, where it is a part of the etiquette to salute the lady who has put herself under your protection." This bridge was over De Voor's mill-stream, about Fifty-third Street between Second and Third Avenues.

The arrival of shad in April was always welcomed. Several large catches of this fish are recorded. Thus on April 19, 1756, we read: "On last Thursday, 5,751 shad were caught at one draught on the west side of Long Island." A week later, the editor notes:

"The end of last week on the departure of most of His Majesty's forces, fresh beef was sold in our markets at 6*d.* per pound by the whole quarter. This seemed to be a gloomy prospect for many poor who buy from hand to mouth; but that Being who careth for them, happily sent in a few days large supplies of fish; and on Thursday last, Mr. Bernard Johnson on Long Island, caught 5,700 shad at one hawl of a sein, besides large numbers of several other hawls; and the next day sold the greater part of them in our markets." A still greater catch is noticed on April 21st, 1774: "Last Tuesday morning 9,000 shad were caught in the seines of Mr. Justice Cortelyou at the Narrows."

Bass also were sometimes caught in large quantities. Thus, March 21, 1765: "On Saturday last were brought to town near 2,000 fine bass taken up in the North River near the Highlands, being much fresher and better than those usually brought from Long Island, which are not so soon brought to market after they are taken." For some years, the fishing trade languished after 1760, so that to encourage it the General Assembly passed an Act in 1773, granting £200 per annum for five years in premiums "for the better supplying the markets of the City with fish."

Ray and skate were excepted, and special premiums were offered for mackerel, sheepshead and cod. The next year dried herrings were added to the list. In 1771, some Albany men stocked the Hudson with salmon, and a law was passed here providing a penalty of £5 for the offence of catching a salmon in Hudson waters and tributaries for five years.

The quiet waters of the harbour were frequently visited by sharks and whales, whose arrival is noted in the newspapers. In September, 1764, for instance: "Monday a shark ten feet long was taken at the New Dock a very few yards from the shore;" and in October, 1773: "Several days last week, a considerable large whale was seen in the North as well as the East River of this City." It will have been noticed that every house fit for habitation had its cellar, the capacity for wine storage of which was sometimes given. Notwithstanding the consumption of coffee and chocolate as beverages, and the great vogue of tea, yet hard drinking was the rule rather than the exception here as in England. Every gentleman had his cellar well stored with the wines of Bordeaux, Burgundy, Rhenish Prussia, Spain, Portugal,

Chocolate pot (1786) owned by Mrs. Douglas Robinson. See page 152.

and especially the Azores and Canary Islands. The latter included Cape, Madeira, Fayal, Vidonia and Canary. When Governor Burnet died, in 1729, his cellar contained more than twelve hundred bottles and flasks of wine, besides a pipe of Madeira and a quarter cask of Fayal.

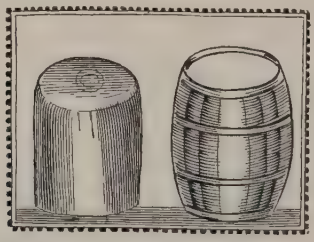
Governor Burnet's table was well supplied with continental brands, particularly French and Rhine wines. The average cellar of the day contained a much greater proportion of island wines; indeed Madeira was the most popular wine for a century and a half. This was the wine in which toasts were usually drunk, and that in which the health of the King was drunk when guests gathered at the Fort and elsewhere on His Majesty's birthday.

Beer was imported in large quantities both in cask and bottle. Bottled Taunton ale, York and Bristol beer, and London ales were on sale. Liqueurs, or "cordial waters" were also drunk in large quantities, and of these there were a great variety. Among the latter we find Clove Water, Orange Water, Carraway Water, Geneva, Rosa Solis, Usquebaugh (included among French liqueurs), Essence of Tea, Essence of Coffee, Anise, Free Mason's Cordial, Parfaite Amour, Oil of Venus, Oil of Hazelnuts, Bergamot, and many others.

In 1766, Richard Deane, distiller from Ireland, had for sale at his distillery on Long Island, near the Ferry: Aniseed Water, Orange Water, Clove Water, All Fours, or the Cordial of Cordials, Nutmeg Water, Red Ratafie, Golden Cordial, Royal Usquebaugh, Plain ditto, Royal Water, Cordial of Health, Cinna-

mon Water, Cardamun Water, Angelica Water, Aqua Cœlestis, or Heavenly Water, Ros Solis, Stoughton's Elixir, Aqua Mirabilis, or Wonderful Water, besides Irish Whisky, Brandy and Rectified Spirits of Wine.

It is somewhat astonishing to count the generous number of toasts drunk at the various society festivities. Twenty was a modest list. When Captain McDougal received forty-five friends who visited him in gaol in February, 1770, they dined on 45 lbs. of steak and drank 45 toasts each. The appeal for temperance was sometimes heard. In 1749, a paper published a "warning to those who indulge immoderately in the pleasure of Madeira." In 1764, another writer complained that "Rum, tea and sugar now become habitual and necessary to all ranks of people, will considerably rise in their price, and also wines which some think are become more necessary than ever to keep up our spirits."



"Abraham Delanoy, Oysters and Lobsters." (1774.)

III

MARKETS AND COOKERY

Owners of country-seats could bountifully supply their tables from their own possessions with dairy produce, fruits, vegetables, flesh, fowl and sometimes with fish also. For the rest of the community, there were public markets to which the country people of Staten Island, New Jersey, and Long Island brought provisions every day. Kalm says that as he was sailing up the North River in 1748:

"All the afternoon, we saw a whole fleet of little boats, returning from New York whither they had brought provisions and other goods for sale; which, on account of the extensive commerce of this town, and the great number of its inhabitants, go off very well. During eight months of the year, this river is full of yachts and other greater and lesser vessels, either going to New York or returning from thence, laden either with inland or foreign goods. The country people come to market in New York twice a week much in the same manner as they do in Philadelphia; with this difference—that the markets are kept in several places."

Poultry and game were always plentiful and good. Wild geese and ducks, and other water-fowl were very abundant. During their migration in Spring and Autumn, dense flocks of pigeons sometimes darkened the sky. In April, 1754, the public were informed: "We had such great quantities of pidgeons in our markets last week, that no less then six were sold for one old penny."

Outside the markets, no shops existed where meat, fish, or fruit was offered for sale. But, in 1763, "Hyam Myers at the Sign of the Poulterers in Broad Street, near the City Hall takes this method to inform the public that he intends to keep a proper poulterer's shop in the same manner as they are kept in London."

Dutch cabinet owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth. See page 122.

With few exceptions, the authorities required all perishable provisions to be sold in the markets. There were many regulations for the benefit of the citizens. In 1731, a law stated that as the city was chiefly provisioned by the country people coming by water from the neighbouring counties and colonies, who arrived at different times and seasons as the tides, winds and weather permitted, for which reason no certain dates could be conveniently appointed for holding the markets without injury to both buyers and sellers, therefore every day except Sunday was to be a market day, from sunrise to sunset.

The places appointed were "at the market-house at the Slip, commonly called Counties Dock, at the

market-house at the Old Slip, commonly called Burgers Path, at the market-house at the lower end of Wall Street, commonly called Wall Street Market House, and at the Market House at or near Countess Key, commonly called Countesses Slip." Since the markets were principally intended for the benefit of housekeepers who bought for their own use, hucksters and retailers were not allowed to go to the markets to make their purchases till the afternoon. Forestalling was strictly prohibited. Penalities were provided against the exposure for sale of bad or stale meat, or other food. Butter in pounds, rolls, pots, dishes, or other vessels, not exceeding six pounds, was to have its weight stamped upon it. If any fraud was discovered, the butter was forfeited to the poor. All weights and measures were to be sealed, and the clerk of the market was to receive one penny for sealing each piece. Severe weather sometimes prevented supplies from reaching the market, and then prices naturally rose. On Febry. 9th 1747, we read:

"The deplorable circumstances this city is under, from a long service of cold and freezing weather, is matter of concern to all. This now not only hinders our foreign navigation (and so consequently prevents news) but occasions our firewood to be so scarce and dear as was never equalled here before; the price being from 40 to 58 sh. a cord and almost half the inhabitants in want. Provisions also are excessive dear; a good turkey, which scarcely ever before exceeded 3*s.* 6*d.* has lately been sold for 5*s.* a fat fowl for 1*s.* 6*d.* a pound of butter for 14*d.* and many other things proportionable. Under all these disadvantages, what must our poor suffer?"

In 1740, an Act declared that "of late years great numbers of Negroes, Indians and Mulattoes, slaves,

have made it a common practice of buying, selling and exposing to sale, not only in houses, out-houses, and yards, but likewise on the public streets, great quantities of boiled Indian corn, peas, peaches, apples, and other kinds of fruit; which pernicious practice is not only detrimental to their owners because of neglect of service, but is also productive of infectious diseases." Offenders in future were to be publicly whipped.

Milk was one of the articles excepted from the necessity of being sold in the public markets. It was usually carried from house to house in big pails suspended from a yoke resting on the shoulders, as is still often done in England.

In 1763, provisions had become too dear to suit the authorities; and, so to the great discontent of butchers and others, an Assize of Victuals was enacted. This ordered that "No kind of provisions or victuals are to be sold anywhere but in the common Market Houses of this city (except live fish, bread, flour, salted beef, salted pork, butter, milk, hog's lard, oysters, clams and muscles) under the penalty of £40 for each offence." No huckster may buy to sell again before 11 A. M. (£3 penalty). Following this appeared a list of fixed prices for a good number of articles.

A correspondent signing himself *Plebeanus* said:

"There was never a more just or necessary law. The impositions of the butchers and the extravagant demands of some of the neighouring country people have loudly called for redress, and must soon have proved to the poorer sort absolutely ruinous. As to the affront offered to the dignity of the butchers, and the airs they assume on the occasion, I doubt

not they will soon be made sensible that the law is not like a sirloin, to be rescinded with broad-ax and cleaver; and should they refuse to continue their business on the law's taking place, I hope the gentlemen of the city will not hesitate a moment to raise an adequate sum by subscription to supply the market at a lower rate than that prescribed by the ordinance; upon which the Corporation 'tis hoped will instantly turn every butcher's stall out of the market, nor ever suffer them to be replaced till after suitable proofs of contrition and remorse. For we have really been imposed upon by one of the most impudent combinations that was ever suffered among a free and thinking people. Was it not astonishing and beyond all human tolerance that beef should be sold from 7*d.* to 8*d.* per lb. when it might be offered for 3*d.* and 4*d.* and yield a sufficient profit? Cattle were perhaps never plentier or cheaper in the country than the greater part of the time during which this exorbitant price has been exacted."

This law excited a mutiny among the butchers, and, after further consideration, the prices of butter, milk, and meats were slightly raised. An interesting light is cast upon the marketing manners of the day (1763) by the letter of a lady who complained:

"I have frequently observed, and sometimes felt, great rudeness and ill manners in our public markets; especially when any kind of provision appeared of which there was a scarcity. I have seen people press and shove with such rudeness and violence as sufficiently showed an intention truly hostile and that force alone could determine the purchasers; and sometimes the prey has been seized and in danger of being torn to pieces by two furious combatants, equally voracious, who seemed by their actions to be upon the point of starving and to contend for their lives. I, who am a woman unused to war and of a peaceable disposition, have been obliged to give up my pretensions to the goods, half-purchased, and give place to one of more strength and resolution, being not quite reduced to the necessity of fighting or starving.

"All that are weak and peaceable like myself have been excluded from purchasing in the market by rudeness and force. It is to be hoped that persons guilty of such misbehaviour need only to be told of it to avoid it, and, as they value their own liberty, not encroach upon that of their neighbours. Such conduct has also a direct tendency to raise the price of provisions in the market to the extravagant price that we all have had reason to complain of."

Some dealers were none too scrupulous at times. The authorities kept a close watch on "blown" meat and other provisions that were dishonestly manipulated. Three examples follow:

"Saturday morning last, several parcels of butter were seized in the Fly Market for being deficient in weight; although it was sold for 18*d.* per lb." (1762.)

"A quantity of bad butter was seized in our market belonging to one Mr. Rosea of Staten Island. The rolls were very artfully cased over with excellent fresh butter, and the inside so bad that it was fit for no other use than the soap tub." (1763.)

"Some days ago, nine pigs were seized in the Fly Market as perfect carrion, which on the mayor's view were sentenced to be burnt publicly on the common, and the owner of them fined 40*s.* The sentence was immediately put in execution and part of the fine taken to purchase wood to burn them with." (1768.)

The markets thus being so well supplied, and their gardens, orchards, fields and meadows producing whatever they required, the New York gentry's tables were provided with all the delicacies of the season. Great attention was paid in the kitchen to the culinary art, and good cooks were in great demand. Some of the advertisements show that black men as well as white women ruled in that domain, and,

in contemporary phrase, could "send up a number of dishes."

Cooking was reckoned among the accomplishments of the day, and ladies, as well as housekeepers, were expected to know everything about preparing choice dishes, the making of jellies and other sweets and in setting and serving the table. For those who

China horses owned by Mrs. F. H. Bosworth. See page 121.

had not the advantages of home-training, there were three valuable books published and sold in 1761 by Hugh Gaine at the Bible and Crown, Hanover Square. The first was *The Director, or Young Woman's Best Companion*, and contained "about three hundred Receipts in Cookery, Pastry, Preserving, Candying, Pickling, Collaring, Physick and Surgery." It also gave instructions for marketing, directions for carving and "Bills of Fare for Every Month in the year." The second was *The Complete*

Housewife, or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion, and contained "upwards of six hundred of the most approved Receipts of Cookery, Pastry, Confectionery, Preserving, Pickles, Cakes, Creams, Jellies, Made Wines, Cordials, with Copper Plates curiously Engraven for the regular Disposition or placing of the various Dishes and Courses, and also Bills of Fare for every month in the year." The third was even more exhaustive. It was called *The British Housewife, or the Cook, Housekeeper and Gardiner's Companion calculated for the Service both of London and the Country*. In addition to its receipts and bills of fare, it gave directions for carving and "the polite and easy manner of doing the Honours of the Table," and also explained fully the "Order of setting out Tables for Dinners, Suppers, and Grand Entertainments in a Method never before attempted."

In these books, a great deal of space was given to the preparation of wines, cordials, shrubs, and other agreeable drinks. Ladies in the Eighteenth Century did not scorn to brew a punch, egg-nog, or posset.

In 1743, *The Weekly Post-Boy* gives "A Receipt for all Young Ladies that are going to be married, to make a Sack Posset."

"From fam'd Barbados on the western Main
Fetch sugar half a pound; fetch Sack from Spain
A Pint, and from the Eastern Indian Coast
Nutmeg, the Glory of our Northern Toast.
O'r flaming Coals together let them heat,
Till the all conquering Sack dissolve the Sweet.
O'er such another Fire set Eggs twice ten,
New born from foot of Cock and Rump of Hen;
Stir them with steady Hand, and Conscience pricking,
To see th' untimely Fate of Twenty Chicken.

From shining Shelf take down your brazen Skillet,
A quart of milk from gentle Cow will fill it.
When boil'd and cool'd put Milk and Sack to Egg,
Unite them firmly like the triffle League;
Then covered close, together let them dwell
Till Miss twice sings—You must not Kiss and tell.
Each Lad and Lass snatch up their murdering Spoon,
And fall on fiercely like a Starved Dragoon."

The ingredients of elaborate dishes were readily obtainable in the city shops, for the groceries of the day were almost as varied as now. All kinds of spice, candied and dried fruits, preserves and pickles, both imported and native, were procurable. In 1730, Nicholas Bayard erected a sugar-refinery: "At which Refining-House all Persons in city and Country may be supplied by Wholesale and Retail with both double and single Refined Loaf-Sugar, as also Powder and Shop-Sugars, and Sugar-Candy at Reasonable Rates."

Chippendale chair; in the Museum for the Art of Decoration, Cooper Union.

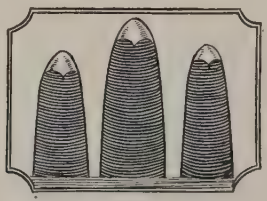
Among innumerable articles of this class offered for sale may be mentioned: pickled mushrooms in quart bottles, pickled onions from London, choice lemons, ground ginger, sweet oil, Florence oil by the bettee, anchovies, capers, olives, catchup, red herrings, citron, pickled herrings, Turkey figs, Lisbon lemons, cur-

rants, China oranges, East India mangoes, English walnuts and jar raisins.

The following typical advertisement will show that the shopkeepers were accustomed to supply the demands of delicate palates, and that the tables of the well-to-do displayed no Spartan simplicity :

"To be sold, wholesale and retail, by William Keen, grocer and confectioner on Rotten Row: Fine Heyson, Green, Congoe and Bohea Tea; Coffee and Chocolate; single and double Refined Sugar; Powder and Muscovado do.; Sugar Candy; Sugar Plumbs and Carraway; Confects; Jarr Raisins and Cask ditto; Currants, Figgs and Prunes; Almonds in the Shell; Cloves, Mace, Cinnamon and Nutmeg; Ginger, Black Pepper and Allspice; Dry Citron by the Box or smaller quantity; West India Sweetmeats of all Sorts; Preserves of all Sorts, such as Currants, Jellys, Quinces, Grapes, Strawberries, Raspberries, Damsons, Peaches, Plumbs and sundry other sorts.

"Pickles of all sorts in small quantities, very fit for the Army, such as Wallnuts, Cucumbers, Mangoes, Peppers, Capers, Anchovies, etc. Pickled oysters and lobsters." (1761.)



"George Webster, Grocer, at the Sign of the Three Sugar Loaves." (1773.)

IV

TAVERNS AND TEA GARDENS

TAVERNS played a very important part in the social life of the day, and the hosts were respected in the community and were frequently of considerable weight and standing. The best taverns had always a large room for entertainments and balls, and these were largely patronized by the gentry. There were many men in the city,—officers, unmarried clerks, etc., who lived in lodgings and took their meals at taverns, which also provided ladies with delicate fare. These hostelries usually had delightful gardens which were illuminated on summer evenings, and sometimes the guests were entertained with music. Moreover, if anything went wrong in the kitchen at home, or if the weather was too hot for cooking, there were many bakers who prepared appetizing breadstuffs or offered their ovens for a small price. Some of the conveniences within reach even of a modest income appear in the following advertisements:

"Mrs. Brock has removed to the new brick house near the City Hall, sells wines, lets lodgings and furnishes victuals abroad from twelve to three o'clock."

"William Keen grocer and confectioner purposes to carry on Pastry in all its branches, where persons may be supplied with cake of all kinds done in the best manner. Tarts of all sorts, with the best of gingerbread fit for Sea; Captains of vessels and others may be supplied with all kinds of sweet-

meats put up in the best manner, and variety of pickles of all sorts, pickled oysters done in the best manner, anchovies and Capers. Said Keen proposes to make chicken Pies and Meat Pies of all sorts."

"Spring Gardens, near the College, lately belonging to Mr. John Marshall, is opened for breakfasting from 7 o'clock till 9. Tea in the afternoon from 3 till 6. The best of green tea &c. Hot French rolls will be provided. N. B. Pies and tarts will be drawn from 7 in the evening till 9, where gentlemen and ladies may depend on good attendance; the best of Madeira, mead, cakes, &c." (1763.)

"William Muckelvain, baker, at the sign of the Three Biskets on Pot Baker Hill will continue to heat his oven at 10 A. M. every day during the warm weather for baking dishes of meats, pies &c." (1763.)

"Newfoundland, more commonly known by the name of the Glass House, is now opened for the entertainment of company, where constant attendance is given and everything that is genteel and agreeable provided. N. B. Breakfasting attended from 7 A. M. till 10, and tea in the afternoon from 3 till 6 at 1*s.* 6*d.* a head furnished with the best green tea and hot loaves. Likewise any gentleman or lady that are indisposed, and want to take the benefit of the country air, may be accommodated with a genteel apartment." (1763.)

"Samuel Francis opened an Ordinary at the Queen's Head tavern near the Exchange. Dinner every day to be served at half past one." (1763.)

"Wm. Adams opens, at the Sign of General Monckton upon the New Dock, a Beef-Steak House, to be ready Hot and Hot—from 11 o'clock in the Morning till 3 in the Afternoon at the Expense of 1 Shilling each." (1764.)

"Just arrived from London, Monsieur Lenzi, confectioner, makes and sells all sorts of fine French, English, Italian and German biskets, preserved fruits (pines, gooseberries, strawberries, etc.) also in brandy, jams, pastes and jellies, which will be warranted for two or three years with good care; all sorts of sugar plums, dragees, barley sugar, white and brown sugar candy, ice cream and fruits, sugar ornaments which are now

ready for sale, or to lend out." Later, he also sold "sugar and burnt almonds, carraway and aniseed comfits, orange or lemon sugar plums, ginger, cinnamon and other tablets. All kinds of the finest and richest cakes, as Queen, royal hearts, plum and pound cakes, maccaroons, ratafia drops, preserved milk warranted to keep years, etc., jams, pastes, jellies, any sort of ice cream or fruits. He will undertake to furnish any great entertainment whatever in as elegant a manner as any in Europe." (1774.)

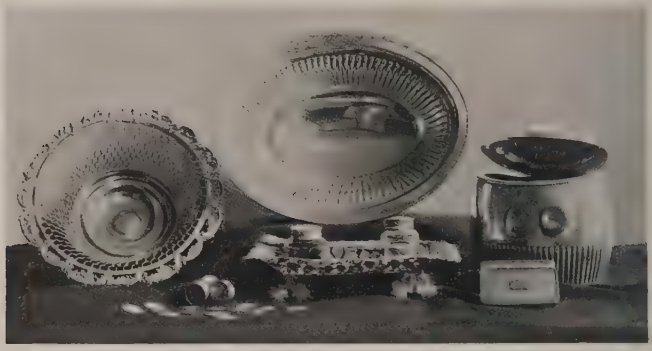
"Edward Bardin has opened the noted tavern at the corner house in the Fields formerly kept by John Jones. The Pantry opened every evening at 7 o'clock and a cloth laid with the following dishes: Roast Beef, Veal, Mutton, Lamb, Ducks and Chickens, Gammon, Lobsters, Pickled Oysters, Custards, and Tarts of Different Kinds. Chicken Pies ready for Supper every night. Tea and Coffee every afternoon. He has a large commodious room fit for balls and assemblies." (1775.)

Many inns were commodious and well-appointed. In 1775, the Queen's Head Tavern, near the Exchange (at the lower end of Broad Street), was described as being three stories high with a tile and lead roof; "it has fourteen fireplaces, a most excellent large kitchen, five dry cellars, with good and convenient offices. It is a corner house, very open and airy and in the most complete repair; near to the new ferry." The Queen's Head was in existence as early as 1731.

Another tavern, the King's Arms, was famous in the history of New York all through the century. This was in Broadway between Crown (Liberty) and Little Prince (Cedar) Streets. It was always a favourite resort of the officers from Fort George, and many stories were told of Lord Cornbury's escapades there, one of which was of his riding a horse through

the large door and up to the bar to demand a drink.

Before the old grey house with its irregular windows swung the sign painted with "The Lion and the Unicorn fighting for the Crown." A row of catalpa trees extended some distance in front of the inn making the air sweet with their heavily-scented blooms. From the windows, and still better from the cupola on the roof, supplied with a table, seats, and a



Plated ware owned by Mrs. Alan Hartwell Strong. See page 154.

good telescope, a beautiful view of the Hudson could be enjoyed. In the bar-room were a series of small boxes screened with green silk curtains where a guest could enjoy his chop and ale or Madeira in privacy. The dining-room was large and well-furnished. Wide verandas back and front contributed to comfort in summer. Among the other taverns were the Mason's Arms, Fraunces' Tavern, Golden Hill (John and Cliff Streets), New York, New England and Quebec

Coffee House, the Horse and Cart and The Province Arms.

In addition to the city taverns with their ball-rooms and tea-gardens, there were two famous establishments outside the city. These were called Vauxhall and Ranelagh, in imitation of famous London resorts of the same names. Ranelagh was a summer garden on Broadway between the present Duane and Worth Streets. The New York Hospital was afterwards erected here, Governor Tryon witnessing the laying of the corner-stone. Vauxhall Gardens were situated where is now Greenwich Street between Warren and Chambers, facing the North River. They were on part of Sir Peter Warren's estate and commanded a beautiful view of the Hudson. One or two selections from the numerous advertisements will show the kind of entertainment enjoyed at these gardens.

"At the request of several gentlemen and ladies there will be a concert twice a week, Mondays and Thursdays, 6.30 P. M. (Ranelagh Garden Concert). Small fireworks will be played off and the best entertainment as usual, notwithstanding the artful insinuations of some ill-minded people to the contrary." (1765.)

"Ranelagh Gardens (For breakfasting as well as the evening entertainment of ladies and gentlemen,) are laid out at a great expence in a very genteel pleasing manner; and judged to be far the most rural retreat any way near this city. As an addition thereto, a complete band of music is engaged to perform every Monday and Thursday evenings during the Summer season (beginning at 7 o'clock) a commodious hall in the garden for dancing, with drawing rooms neatly fitted up; the very best of wine and other liquors, mead, sillabub, etc. with gammon, tongues, alamode beef, tarts, cakes, etc. etc. and on

notice given, dinners and other large entertainments elegantly provided as usual. N. B. When any evening proves bad the concert will be on the following evening. (1766.)

"Vauxhall Gardens have been newly fitted up in a very genteel pleasing Manner, are pleasantly situate, and now open for the Reception of Ladies, Gentlemen, etc., and will be illuminated every evening in the Week; Coffee, Tea, and Hot Rolls at any hour in the day, neat Wines and other Liquors, with Cakes, as usual. A concert of Music, Vocal and Instrumental will shortly be performed twice every Week, of which due Notice will be given. Contiguous to the Garden there is a very good Long Room, convenient for a Ball or Turtle Entertainment; also Dinners or Suppers, dressed in the most Elegant Manner on timely Notice." (1769.)

"If the Weather Permits at Vauxhall Gardens. On Monday the 27th Inst. will be exhibited a Magnificent set of Fireworks, by the Italians, far exceeding any other Performance of the kind yet shown in the City; To be disposed in the following Order: *First*, Eight Rockets, which burst to Stars, Snakes and Crackers. *Second*, A capricious Wheel, which will represent a Marquis Tent. *Third*, One Wheel, illuminated with different Colours and Maroons. *Fourth*, One Tournant of brilliant Fire, which will represent at different Times the Sun and Moon. *Fifth*, Eight Rockets,—One Globe, illuminated and adorned with Chinese Fountains and Italian Candles, and in the centre a beautiful Girandola of different Fires. *Sixth*, One Wheel, illuminated with white, red and yellow Fires,—a piece representing a Cistern of Water, with twelve Changes,—a curious wheel representing a Chinese Looking Glass. *Seventh*, A curious Tornant of different Changes of Fire. *Eighth*, A Fix'd Sun of brilliant Fire. *Ninth*, Eight Rockets,—a Pigeon on a Line will communicate Fire to three Triumphal Arches, adorn'd with a brilliant Fire of Diamonds, Chinese Fountains, and Italian Candles;—On each side a magnificent Piece, representing a beautiful Vase of Flowers,—in the Centre a beautiful transparent piece, representing the Wheel of Fortune, adorn'd with several curious Illuminations of different Constructions and Colours,—To conclude with Eight Rockets.

"The Fire-works will begin exactly at Half an Hour after eight,—Music Proper for the Entertainment will be prepared. Tickets to be had at the door of the Gardens at 3*s*. each. Any set of Company that choose to spend the evening, will please to send in Time, so that Rooms, Supper, etc., may be provided." (1769.)

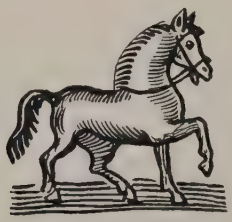
In the disturbances over the Stamp Act in 1765, Vauxhall suffered from the rage of the mob. The

Silver owned by the Bowers, Crooke, Bleecker and Duane families; now by Mrs. Wilmot Townsend Cox. See pages 137 and 151.

newspaper accounts of this affair described the hanging and burning in effigy of the distributor of the stamps, and continued as follows:

"It is probable that the conductors of this expedition intended the whole affair should have ended here; but while many of them were attending the fire, a large detachment of volunteers making their passage through the other side of the palisades went on another expedition and repaired to the house (lately known by the name of Vaux Hall) now in the occupation of Major James of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. This

gentleman was one of those who had unfortunately incurred the resentment of the public by expressions imputed to him. It is said he had taken a lease of the house for 3 years, and had obliged himself to return it in the like good order as he received it. It had been lately fitted up in an elegant manner, and had adjoining a large handsome garden stored with both necessaries and curiosities, and had in it several summer houses. The house was genteelly furnished with good furniture; contained a valuable library of choice books, paper, accounts, mathematical instruments, draughts, rich clothes, linen, etc., and a considerable quantity of wine and other liquors. The multitude bursting open the doors, proceeded to destroy every individual article the house contained. The beds they cut open and threw the feathers abroad; broke all the glasses, china, tables, desks, chairs, trunks, chests; and, making a large fire at a little distance, threw in everything that would burn; drank or destroyed all the liquor, and left not the least article in the house which they did not entirely destroy. After which, they also beat to pieces all the doors, sashes, window-frames and partitions in the house, leaving it a mere shell; also destroyed the summer-houses and tore up and spoiled the garden. All this destruction was completed about 2 o'clock."



"Ferdinand, a noble dark bay stallion, property of Michael Kearney." (1767.)

V

FASHION AND LUXURY

Manners and customs in the polite society in New York followed closely those of London. All the fads and changing fancies of English fashionable life were faithfully reproduced here. These were imported with other up-to-date luxuries. The New Yorker could always become acquainted with the folly or affectation that was the latest London thing in manners because of the constant stream of British officers who passed through this port. Moreover, many sons of merchants were sent to Europe to complete their education and see the world.

As wealth and luxury increased, the number of natives who travelled abroad for business or pleasure multiplied. The consequent alteration in their manners and morals was commented on in print. In 1754, a subscriber asked an editor to print Gay's fable, *The Monkey Who Had Seen the World*, together with the subscriber's "observations on the bad improvement of travelling on some of our New York Gentlemen." He was very severe on the latter. "At all places they boast of their acquirements," said he, "which are so mean that no traveller should speak of them but with the greatest indifference, nay, contempt." Thence he went on to say:

"Condumanus, who has not long since visited London, confined all his speculations there to Haddock's Bagnio, Vaux-

hall, Covent Garden, or some luxurious seats of pleasure . . . Guglio can boast the honour of having been several times drunk in London. He has there improved in the art of drinking, has seen the King and Royal Family; has been in St. Paul's; can tell where the Tower stands, and seen some things within it; has heard Garrick act; been at both the theatres, and can correct the errors of the stage; knows how the actors should strut; when in a rage; how he should startle and tremble when a ghost appears; how he should singly kick up his heels when he makes his exit.

"Little Clodis Friskabout, besides all these improvements, has many others; he has accomplished himself, if we may believe him, in all the arts that constitute a complete gentleman. He has eat Otterlings, Woodcocks and the greatest varieties to be got for money; has conversed with the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple; has been present at balls and masquerades, and distinguished himself there in that most polite accomplishment, dancing, whereof he is now complete master. He can move a Minuet after the newest fashion in England; can quiver like a butterfly; is a perfect connoiseur in dress; and has been author to all the new cock't hats and scratches in town; has learnt the art of address from the gentility of Covent Garden, which, by Jove, he swears has ruined his constitution. Amongst the accomplished beaux, he has learned those elegant expressions, *Split me, Madam; By Gad; Dam me;* and fails not to use them on all occasions. So entirely is he taken up with England, that he always mentions guineas when he speaks of money. In short, he values himself for his most excellent faculty of expatiating on vices never in his power to commit, and rails at every virtue; swears he can harangue and please a lady as well as any man of them all; and take a pinch of rappee with as graceful flourish as a Frenchman."

About the middle of the century, wealth and luxury had reached such a height in New York as to raise serious protests from old-fashioned citizens who were attached to solid and comfortable, but quiet and unostentatious living. In 1734, a writer said:

"Our luxury consists more in an expence of what is imported from foreign parts than what is of own growth manufactories; I am credibly informed that tea and china ware cost the province, yearly, near the sum of £10,000; and people that are least able to go to the expence, must have their tea tho' their families want bread. Nay, I am told, often pawn their rings and plate to gratifie themselves in that piece of extravagance."

In 1747, another wail was heard in a Burgomaster's admonition against the Prevalence of Luxury:

"At this time, the furniture and expenses of every tradesman now equal those of the merchant formerly; those of the merchant surpass those of the first rate gentleman; those of the gentleman, the old lords, &c. All other nations have each their favourite luxury; as the Italian his pompous palace, the Frenchman his fine suit, the Pole his splendid equipage, the German his capacious cellar, the Spaniard his bead roll of titles, &c. But our taste is universal; & there is scarce a little clerk among us, who doth not think himself the outcast of Providence, if not enobled by his salary, fees, etc., to outlive the rich man in the Gospel."

Two years later also there is the following similar complaint:

"This province above any other has felt the miseries of ignorance and they still remain our sorest afflictions. A sordid thirst after money sways the lives of our people; while learning and all the arts lie dispised and neglected. The most insipid dunces crowd into preferments and office. But the want of education reigns (also) in every art, trade, business and character, and discovers itself in a peculiar manner in the various companies of men that collect themselves into weekly clubs and societies in several parts of this city. Their conversation turns upon the most trifling subjects; a set of noisy fops bluster away the evening in a storm; others smoke their pipes with a senseless stupidity; some impertinently chat away whole hours with effeminate observations on dress and the ladies;

others, in open defiance of the laws of decency and modesty, fling out the most fulsome trash that has neither a tendency to improve or divert but to debauch and corrupt the mind, and the room you sit in resounds perpetually with oaths and curses.

"There is not to be found but one set of men whose company is innocent and profitable. These gentlemen have de-

Tortoiseshell snuff-boxes, vases and other Eighteenth Century ornaments; originals in the Museum for the Art of Decoration, Cooper Union.

clared themselves enemies to nonsense and vice, and are resolved to improve the taste and knowledge and to reform and correct the manners of the inhabitants of this town. They have formed themselves into a club, and meet every week to discant upon learned subjects in a private apartment."

In 1773, it was stated that "The prevalence and daily increase of vice and immorality of every kind among us are too evident to escape the notice of the most superficial observer," and so a number of gentlemen were forming the American Society for the Pro-

moting Religious Knowledge among the Poor. This was surely beginning at the wrong end of the social ladder. In the same year, a censor of public morals complained that in these days of dissipation and prodigality, to be an advocate for virtue is to be deemed sour and superstitious, fashionable vice characterizes good breeding, liberality results more from pride than benevolence, and confidence and audacity sully the bloom of youth. He continued: "In the days of our forefathers, when decency was in esteem, the voice of love seldom escaped in whispers from the shelter of concealment, and delicacy harmonized every note. Their more refined posterity disdain such childish coyness, the voice of love grows clamorous in public assemblies, and even the votaries of Diana permit incense to be offered to Venus in the deepest recesses of their consecrated groves. Are not the celestial joys of holy wedlock daily bartered for titles, feathers, and glittering gold?"

In another article, this author complains that the neglect of religion has become a mark of politeness, and that those who stand highest in the community and set the example are dishonourably distinguished by their contemptuous neglect of public worship. It seems that the rising generation follows this pernicious example. "The Lord's Day is now dedicated by them to scenes of jollity and dissipation, and is distinguished from the other parts of the week by nothing more than by the freer indulgence of riot and every species of excess. Advancing thus to manhood, with minds habituated to luxury, ignorant of the doctrines of religion, and unimbued with any

principles of piety, what can we expect but that the maturer period of their lives will present us with a more luxuriant crop of intemperance and profanity?" The writer then proceeds to denounce the Stage and all its workers.

In the fashionable follies of the day, the women certainly did not lag behind the men. They dressed magnificently, directed splendidly appointed houses, where frequently servants waited in livery, drove in handsome equipages, and sometimes managed businesses of their own. Afternoon tea, until the early days of the Revolution, was always an important social function; and many are the protests heard against the excessive use of this herb. In 1731, an alarmist wrote to one of the papers as follows:

"A real Concern for my Fellow Creatures makes me give you this Trouble. I should think myself happy if I could persuade them from a custom of a fatal Consequence (I mean habitual *Tea-Drinking*) which so universally prevails among us. Were it only the Consideration of so much expended on what is absolutely unnecessary, it would not give me much Concern, and I should silently lament the unaccountable Follies of Human kind; But when not only their Fortunes, but their Health and Happiness are in Danger, I think it my Duty openly to forewarn them, and endeavour as much as in me lies, to prevent their Ruins." "The continual pouring into the Body such quantities of what (if not much worse) is no better than Warm Water" the writer considers very harmful. "Nor does the Body suffer alone, the Soul also is hindered in the free Performance of its Functions and has its share of Disorder; Hence that Melancholy, that Heaviness, that Peevishness, those unaccountable Fancies, those groundless Fears and Apprehensions; in short, whatever comes under the Name of Spleen, I may very justly charge here; nor will I acquit this Drug from laying the Foundation of many other Distempers"—He also fears

that "the fatal Effects of this Custom are entail'd on our Posterity."

It was not only tea that roused the ire of our censor. He also strongly objected to what he called the impertinent custom into which women as well as men had fallen of taking snuff. If he did not exaggerate, that New York ladies were quite as advanced as their London sisters:

"This silly Trick of taking Snuff is attended with such a Cocquet Air in some young (as well as older) Gentlewomen, and such a sedate Masculine one in others, that I cannot tell which most to complain of, but they are to me equally disagreeable. Mrs. Saunter is so impatient of being without it, that she takes it as often as she does Salt at Meals, and as she affects a wonderful Ease and Negligence in all Manners, an upper Lip mixed with Snuff, and the Sauce is what is presented to the Observation of all who have the Honour to eat with her. The pretty Creature her Niece does all she can to be as disagreeable as her Aunt; and if she is not as offensive to the Eye, she is quite as much to the Ear, and makes up all she wants in a confident Air, by a nauseous Rattle of the Nose when the Snuff is delivered, and the Fingers make the Stops and Closes on the Nostrils.

Gold snuff-box belonging to the family of the late James de Peyster. See page 380.

"This, perhaps, is not a very Courtly Image in speaking of Gentlewomen, that is very true; but where arises the Offence? Is it in those who commit, or those who observe it? As for my part, I have been so extremely disgusted with this filthy Physick hanging on the Lip, that the most agreeable Conversation, or Person, has not been able to make up for it. As to those who take it for pretty Action, or to fill up little Intervals of Discourse, I can bear with them; but then they must not use it when another is speaking,

who ought to be heard with too much Respect, to admit of offering at that Time from Hand to Hand the Snuff-Box. But Flavilla is so far taken with her Behaviour in this kind that she pulls out her Box (which is indeed full of good *Brazile*) in the middle of the Sermon; and to show she has the Audacity of a well-bred Woman, she offers it to the Men as well as the Women who sit near her; But since by this Time all the World knows she has a fine Hand, I am in hopes she may give herself no further Trouble in this Matter. On Sunday was sevennight, when they came about for the Offering, she gave her Charity with a very good Air, but at the same Time asked the Churchwarden if he would take a Pinch. Pray, Sir, think of these Things in Time."

Flavilla's snuff-box may have resembled one advertised for in 1737: "Lost, or mislaid, (by a lady) on Saturday last, an oval gold snuff-box with an Egyptian pebble top (14 pistoles reward and no questions asked). If offered to be sold or pawned, pray stop it." A gold snuff-box of the period is shown on page 379. It is now owned by the family of the late James de Peyster.

During the year 1731, the ladies made several complaints against the men for lack of due attention. The following excerpt from this controversy will show the alleged grievances on both sides:

"The Court for Reformation of Manners take into Consideration the Hardships of those who desire to 'enter the Conjugal state' and complain of 'their Incapacity to imitate the young ladies of their own Rank, in their inordinate Love of appearing Polite.'

"1stly, The Court observe, That the Splendid Appearance of those young Ladies who affect to be Polite, is to the great Discouragement of the industrious Petitioners.

"2ndly, That these Polite young Ladies esteem themselves above the addresses of their Equals.

"3dly, That the said Ladies are great Admirers of *Tea*, to the utter Confusion of the distressed Petitioners, who are altogether unacquainted with the Ceremony which usually pass at the Tea-Table; which Ignorance of theirs makes them appear excessively Awkward and Ridiculous.

"*The Court accordingly took the foregoing grievances into Considerations, and give their Sentiments and Verdicts as follows.*

"1stly, The gay and darling Appearance of these *Ladies* is partly excusable if they can reasonably afford it, being justly commended if they desire to attract the Affections of the *Beaus*, who mind not the Inside of themselves and others, so much as the Outside.

"The Court thinking that a strictly fashionable *Beau* must have a plentiful stock of Money, which is the aim of these Ladies.

"2dly, The severe Treatment which these Ladies give the Petitioners is highly unpardonable, seeing, that tho' they may be more knowing in some trifling Points of Politeness, yet their Fortune and perhaps their Common sense is not more extensive than the slighted Admirers; but the Court call this scornful Behaviour nothing but an over-valuing themselves, or in plainer Terms, *Pride* and *Vanity*.

"3dly, The sensible Misfortune which the Petitioners lay under in being utterly ignorant in the Ceremony of the Tea-Table (which is look'd upon as a Point of great Importance) we shall remedy as well as we can, it being impossible to root out the Custom of drinking *Tea*; we therefore propose as follows, That the Petitioners shall collect among themselves as much Money as will buy a set of China or (if they should be less Extravagant) *Earthen ware*, such as *Cups*, *Saucers*, *Slop-Bason*, etc., proper for a modish *Tea-Table*, and allow a Salary to any young Lady who is thoroughly acquainted with its compleat Decoromy; we say, let them employ such a skillful Person to teach them the Laws, Rules, Customs, Phrases and Names of the Tea Utensils; on all which (by a close Application) they may soon arrive to a great Proficiency, which will certainly render them polite and agreeable to those whose Favour they solicite.

"The Court having laid down these their Sentiments, adjourned till such Time as, more grievances call'd their Attention. Radamanthus, Sec'ry.

"The Court had forgot to inform the Petitioners, that taking of Snuff will wonderfully influence their desired Success."

It should be remembered that the masculine woman had just come into vogue. She evidently had made her appearance in New York. In 1732, the following description was reproduced here from a London periodical:

"In days of yore for a lady to be dressed like a woman, to speak and act like a woman was thought decent; but now the case is much altered. I went once to visit Stradella, and found her with a napkin Cap on her head, made up like a Man's, with her Hands behind her, whistling and trying in how many Paces she could measure the Room. She turned upon her Heel and extending her right Hand, gave me a friendly shake and saluted me with *How dos't old Hal? Hast breakfasted? Wilt have Tea, Coffee or a Dram of Nantz?* I chose Coffee. *Here*, says she, *Get's a Pot immediately; let the Groom bring the Horses to the Door*, and see my *Pistols are well Primed.* But our Ladies don't intend to stop here. Bob Brawney has received some Love Letters from more than one, and Mr. Maidly has been smartly rally'd in two or three for his bashfulness. But is it not, dear *Spec*, (to be somewhat serious) a melancholy Reflection that our Females are Women at 12 or 13; Men at 18; and very Girls at 50 or 60? That we find almost a universal Contempt of Religion and Economy in the Fair Sex and all Virtue is turned to Ridicule. This vitiated Taste, so prevalent in Town, spreads itself into the Country."

The Duchess of Gordon, who visited this country with her husband Staats Long Morris in 1769, was evidently very much in the fashion; she was long remembered for her masculine dress and manners as well as for her good heart. Her husband had title to

a large tract of land in Otsego Co., New York, and she went with him in 1769 on a visit to inspect it, travelling on horseback from the Hudson river near Catskill westward through the unpeopled wilderness to the Susquehanna river.

In 1734, a contributor objected to women taking so much active interest in politics. He protested:

"As many of your Readers are of the Female Sex, I hope they won't take it ill, if they should be told that Politicks is what does not become them; the Governing Kingdoms and Ruling Provinces are Things too Difficult and Knotty for the fair Sex; it will render them grave and serious and take off those agreeable Smiles that should always accompany them. It is with the utmost concern that I daily see Numbers of Fair Ladies contending about some abstruce Point in Politicks, and running into the greatest Heats about they know not what . . . .

"And what I think still worse, is, they can't help shewing their Resentments in the publick Streets. The other day I saw one of the Courtiers walking along the streets, and being obliged to pass by the Door of one of the Contrary Party, she speaks to her Children, who were with her, that at their Perils they should not bow when they pass'd by such a Door, and when she got home could not help exulting at that great Mark of Disrespect that she had shewn and how pretty the Children had behaved."

A contributor to a newspaper in 1735, admitting that he was in the habit of seeking "a dish of tea with some one of my female acquaintance after the busy hours of the day are over," called one afternoon upon a lady, and was surprised to find a "large Company of agreeable women between the ages of fifteen and fifty." This really seems to have been a sort of woman's club, for one of them took the great chair and discussed with the others the Hunc Over De Club,

kept every Tuesday evening at four houses in the city. Several of the women present gave their opinions regarding this club. One young lady thought it would be wise to advise "the young gentlemen of the town to think more of their *Belles* and less of their Bottles."

Women's clubs of some kind undoubtedly existed here during our period. In 1747, a scribbler, who signs himself Kursonius addresses some verses:

"TO THE OFFICIOUS LADIES OF THE FEMALE CLUB

"From envious tales and idle life refrain,
And save your censur'd reputation;
You yet may shine; esteem once more regain,
And grace your predecessors' nation.*
With others' business never interfere,
Nor more such jealousy discover;
And at the end of one probative year
I promise each good nymph a lover.

"KURSONIUS."

However, for this he speedily did penance with the following apology: "Several ladies having taken the verses addressed to the officious ladies of the Female Club in Mr. De Forest's paper of the third of August to be meant for them, Kursonius humbly begs their pardon." Kursonius probably would have got into sad trouble if he had not recanted, for the respect for the sex here was almost a superstition in as far as lip-service was concerned, and many champions were always ready to rush into print in their cause.

Notwithstanding the protests, there was a good deal of satire written upon fashionable follies and

* France.

those who adopted them. In 1767, a native versifier writes:

"TO THE LADIES.—ON THE PRESENT FASHION OF *NOT* DRESSING THEIR HEADS

"With hair so long, so lank, so sleek,
Which not a comb composes,
Why do you hide your brow and cheek,
And hardly spare your noses?
Say, ye, in whom each worth appears,
Adorned by all the graces,
What makes you thus, my pretty dears,
Ashamed to show your faces?"

To this, on the following week, a lady replied:

"Presumptuous Man, to slander prone,
Whose verse thy name disgraces!
What demon whispered we were grown
Ashamed to show our faces?
In perfect pity to mankind,
We veiled us for a season:
Unmask, my girls, he'll quickly find
That pity was the reason."

Portraits of two of the social leaders of the day, Mr. and Mrs. Walton, appear on pages 294 and 297. Their home has been described on page 69.

"Runaway Negro Slave." (1767.)

VI

EXTRAVAGANCE AND A RETURN TO SIMPLICITY

The luxury and frivolities of some of the wealthy sometimes caused grave offence to the staid old-fashioned class, and the voice of the censor and moralist was frequently heard. If we may believe a writer in 1739, society in New York was going to the dogs. It seems that a cousin of his had rudely passed him in the street without acknowledging his salutation :

"Let us then consider the reason why there is so much pride to be found in most of the young ladies of this town, which may be inquired into by looking into the manner of their education on from their infancy to years of discretion. This may be done by looking into that of my cousin's, who may pass as a sample of the rest.

"This young woman is now in her 18th year; during her infancy till the age of five years, young miss was not to be teased with learning, as being of an age too tender to undergo the hard task of A. B. C. Mama pretends that loading her memory when so young may be of dangerous effects to the child, that the dear little creature must have her will in everything. The maids must be drubbed, the great booby of a brother hold his head in his mother's lap to let his little sister twitch his hair, the lap dog must be beaten and turned out of doors, the monkey cuffed, and, in short, the father called dog and good for nothing.

"Miss is now past 5 years and sole mistress of her father's house. If she can be taught to read, story books, in Mama's opinion, are now proper to tickle her little fancy. Prayer books 'tis true ought to be read by children, but her daughter's

temper is such that she cannot take to them, a little romance would please the child much better, her inclinations are merry and a child of her age ought to be humoured.

"She's now ten years of age, her mind is ripe for plays. Here is again a noble field of vanity presented to madam, her mind is wholly taken up with the pleasures it affords, and an actress's part repeated by heart yields greater joy to her parents than if she knew the whole Catechism.

"Her eleventh year draws on: it is now full time she should appear in the world. Stand by, every brother's part in the father's estate! Head-dresses, masks, necklaces, gloves, patches, fans, shoes, girdles, rings, with many other beguiling things, whereby many of our sex are tempted to enter their snares;—all this while no manner of religion is going forward. The young lady's days are passed in receiving and paying visits; her nights at balls and masquerades, or at cards and dice. The father thinks to gain a rich husband by equipping her after a manner superior to her rank, and the mother for her part very willingly conceives the father's folly will one day tend to the child's good. Miss now, according to the nature of her sex, thinks it time to display her grandeur, everything insipid in itself appears beautiful to her. A sap-headed beau in her opinion has all the charms that were ever bestowed on the lordly creature Man, but a native of the place, and, above all, a relation, will never be able to attain to the perfections visible in one of foreign parts. It cannot be, for when they appear in courtly habits, they do not become them, they are clumsy in them, and all their ways are affected and foolish. On the contrary, when they appear in company with clothes becoming a merchant, they are monsters filled with covetousness, beasts undeserving the happiness of her conversation, the favour of her smiles, or the honour of her company. O! Pride, thou art now in all thy glory, Virtue can no more face thee, Innocence is a scandal to thee, and the remembrance of poor relations are wounds too painful for thy tender frame to bear.

"The young lady being now come to years of discretion is certainly too well founded in the paths of idleness and vice to oppose the one with industry and the other by a glorious ex-

Vernis Martin box, sewing-birds, candlesticks, reel for silks, and punch-ladle with ebony handle ; originals in the Museum for the Art of Decoration, Cooper Union.

See page 335.

ample of virtue, and may perhaps (as by experience is often found) be the ruin of her relations, the disgrace of her country, and the destruction of her own soul."

The editor adds that he is very apt to think that this is nothing but truth "since I myself have observed that the young maidens of York and Flushing have not half the good qualities that they were blessed with in the years 1710 and 1711."

Affairs of the heart and the business of getting a husband formed quite as important parts of fashionable life as they do to-day. In a town where every energy was devoted to money-making, a portionless maiden had small chance of making a desirable match. The gay young English officers and merchants were fortune-hunters in many instances, and the native New Yorker was accustomed to go where money is. A prize in one of the many lotteries sometimes gave a poor maiden an advantage over her sisters, and therefore tickets could always be sold to the ladies. In 1747, a lady "whose hopes of getting a husband by a fortune in a lottery had been disappointed, draws up a Charitable Lottery—a bill for the relief of the distressed widows and maidens of the City and Province of New York."

"*Whereas*, by the great and melancholy disuse of holy matrimony in this city & province, an infinite number of His Majesty's good & loving female subjects remain widows, and others are left upon the hands of their parents in the unnatural state of virginity, to the grievous prejudice of the Commonwealth, the insupportable burden of private families, & the unspeakable concern, affliction & grief of the said females. And

"*Whereas* all ordinary methods to prevent or remedy so great & growing an evil, have hitherto proved ineffectual:

"*Wherefore*, for the better hindrance thereof for the future & for the necessary & due encouragement of propagation, which we ought more particularly now in time of war to promote & attend to, It is prayed that it may be enacted; and

"*Be it enacted* &c. That all the widows & virgins of the City & Province aforesaid, from the age of 15 to 50 may & shall be disposed of by lottery, in the following manner, *that is to say*,

"Every unmarried *male* person of the age aforesaid, in this city & province, that shall be allowed & approved of as proper adventurers in this lottery shall give in their names & take out each one ticket for which he shall pay the sum of £5: And that every widow & virgin shall & may each put in their names gratis.

"The great prizes are to be two fortunes of £5000 each; 10 of £1500; 4 of £2000; 20 of £1000; 40 of £500; 50 of £200; and 100 of £100 each. The second prizes are Beauties in Number 200; Pretty girls, 100; Widows, 500; Agreeables, 200; Good conditioned, 400; Wits, 10; and Housewives, 5. The lowest prizes are, Women of Fashion & Good-breeding, 100; Good card-players, 200; Misses of General Accomplishments, 50; Friskies, 50; Special Breeders, 500; and Saints of the First Magnitude, 150. And in the list of blanks are comprehended all the females of this city & province unmarried within the age aforesaid.

"*And Whereas* the principal objections against lotteries are the draining the poor of their money, and discouraging trade and industry;

"*Be it provided*, That in this present lottery no man shall be permitted to take a ticket who is not worth £500, unless it be such useless and idle persons, who do little or nothing else all day but stroll up & down the streets with a pipe in their mouths smoking; & with respect to all such, it is hereby declared that they shall serve their country this way, seeing that they are or will be of no other use to the community.

"*And be it further enacted*—that whatsoever any man shall draw, whether blank or prize, good or bad, he shall be obliged to husband & keep the same; whereby this City & Province will be relieved & discharged of all the present widows and vir-

gins, & of their doleful complaints, & the births, in all probability, increased to near one half the number this ensuing year.

"*And be it further enacted*—That in order to prevent any disputes & quarrels that may arise about fixing the value of the inestimable prizes, it is hereby declared that the *Beauties* shall be settled by the members of the Chit Chat Club, and the *Pretties* & *Agreeables* shall be rated by the number of their lovers, the *Wits* by the number of their enemies, and the *Widows* by their admirers—

"*And Whereas* some ill-affected & seditious persons, generally known by the name of *Old Bachelors*, who omit no opportunity of aspersing the administration, may go about to represent this act as an attempt to introduce arbitrary power here in the plantations, by putting a grevious yoke on the necks of His Majesty's subjects residing in this province; it is hereby declared that there is nothing in this present act contrary to Magna Charta, or the Petition of Rights.—And it is hereby further declared, That no persons, except old debauchees & bachelors above thirty shall be compelled to take a ticket, but only advised & exhorted thereto, (if they can show any good cause or lawful impediment against it.) And no person shall take more than one ticket, except C-n-c-ll-rs, M-m-b-rs of the G-n-r-l Ass-m-bly, J-dg-es, J-st-c-s of the P--c, M-y-rs, R-c-rd-rs & Ald-r-m-n, Sailors & Soldiers, who are hereby allowed two, in case they do prove to the satisfaction of the Managers that one will not serve their turn.

"And forasmuch as Betty Tiptoe, Spinster, trusting too much to her beauty, wit & good fortune, & not having the fear of Virginity before her eyes, has refused diverse good offers, & merely out of wantonness & disdain, has showed a cruel delight in the pains and sufferings of her admirers; it is therefore thought proper to make an example of her, by not admitting her into the number of prizes in this present lottery.

"*And Whereas* difficulties & disputes may possibly arise about determining in what rank of the prizes Kitty Woundall, Miss Blowsabout, Sally Prim, the Widow Cantwell & Miss Hydden should be placed, whether among the *Beauties*, the *Pretties*, or the *Agreeables*, they each claiming all three, to prevent con-

fusion & save the public needless trouble, they are hereby desired to choose for themselves, as they shall like best, any one of the said three ranks, but no more."

In 1735, another distressed lady, who signed herself Mrs. Nameless, wrote to the editor asking for advice since she was over head and ears in love.

"But Custom and the Modesty of my own Sex forbids me to reveal it to the Dear Man I adore. I have often thought of discovering it by Letter, but I know the Vanity of the Sex so well, that I may depend upon being dispised the Moment I do it. With my Eyes I have often spoke, and my Tongue has very near betrayed me; but the Dear Charming Man seems not to mind what I say or do, tho' I fancy if he could Imagine how dearly I loved him, he would love me to the greatest Excess. How to discover my Passion is the greatest Difficulty I now labour under. I have at Church look'd him full in the Face; and when I had drawn his Eyes blusht as red as fire, whene'er he sees that sign he may be sure, that is the Lady that has fixt her Affections. I could describe my seat in the Church, but I dread to make it too plain; my Habits I sometimes, nay often, Change, and could I Change my Sex till I made my Passion known, I would not be a Moment from the Person I doat on; But that is as impossible as a contented Mind at this Juncture."

It was customary in fashionable circles to be married by license in the evening at the home of the bride's father. When retrenchment and simplicity of all kinds were cultivated after the Stamp Act, wedding and funeral expenses and parade were greatly cut down. In December, 1765, therefore, a wedding among people of wealth by publication of bans was worth a special notice:

"We are credibly informed that there were married last Sunday evening by the Rev. Mr. Auchmuty, a very respectable couple that had been published at three different times in Trinity Church. A laudable example and worthy to be fol-

lowed. If this decent, and for many reasons proper, method of publication were once generally to take place, we should hear no more of clandestine marriages, and save the expence of licences, no inconsiderable sum these hard and distressing times."

In announcing the wedding, the papers always had something complimentary to say of the bride, as in the following instances in 1759:

"Saturday night, Mr. John Lawrence of this city, merchant, was married to Miss Catherine Livingston, daughter of the Hon. Philip Livingston, Esq.; late of this city, deceased, a very agreeable young lady with a handsome fortune."

"Wednesday night last, Mr. Thomas Marston, son of Mr. Nathaniel Marston, merchant, of this city, was married to Miss Kitty Lispenard, daughter of Leonard Lispenard, Esq.; of this place, merchant also; a most agreeable young lady possessed of all those good accomplishments that render the married state completely happy."

In 1774, Thomas Moncrieff married the very amiable Miss Helena Barclay at her father's house in Wall Street. "Immediately after the ceremony, they set out for their country retirement on Long Island." This wedding took place in the morning, doubtless on account of the journey.

New Yorkers were extremely fond of pets. A great number of advertisements of lost dogs appeared. Various breeds are described. In 1730, the Governor's dog, a large young mastiff, was lost; in 1734, a slave ran away with a "black shock dog, cropt ears, his Tail docked very short"; in 1763, someone lost a small bitch puppy, named "Sylvia." This was a spaniel with a dark brown body and short tail. In 1769, Lord Rosehill lost his "small black and white

Dog of King Charles's breed, for which he offered twenty shillings; and in 1773, another dog-lover lost "his liver and white pointer" that "answers to the

Silver salver owned by Frederic J. de Peyster, Esq. See page 141.

name of Ponto." In 1769, Mr. Deas, the perukemaker wants "a dog of the true Newfoundland breed, young and of the largest size."

Birds were also kept as pets. Parrots were favourites, for the constant importations of parrot cages and the advertisements of the same by the local bra-

ziers indicate a demand for them. In 1759, we read that James Bernard, inn-keeper at King's Bridge, had "to dispose of a large collection of Canary Birds in full plumage and song. Those Gentlemen and Ladies that spoke some time ago to him for Canary Birds by favouring him with a Line where they may be sent, can now be supplied." The aforesaid Mr. Deas advertised for some "Virginia Nightingales and other curious Birds" in 1769.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages, an endeavour has been made to let old citizens of Georgian New York speak for themselves in showing us the houses they lived in, the gardens they laid out, the fruits and flowers they enjoyed, the clothes they wore and the food they ate, as well as their sports and pastimes, their accomplishments, amusements, gaieties, and entertainments.

Before the Colonies threw off the British yoke, we have seen that visitors, as well as natives of New York, were struck by one characteristic of the citizens that was particularly noticeable in those days as now. This was the race for wealth. New York before the Revolution was always a money-making and pleasure-loving town. Luxuries were brought from the ends of the earth to satisfy the tastes of prosperous New York people. Their homes were appointed with every convenience and they dwelt in a delightful setting of meadows and woods, with a water frontage unsurpassed anywhere else in the world. There was

breathing space then, and the view from one man's windows was not interrupted by the house of his neighbour.

We can imagine the amazement with which one of the old citizens would regard modern conditions. The buildings that now cover the lower end of the island like monster packing-cases piled into the sky would stupefy him. The old idea of the possibilities of the future is well exemplified by an advertisement of 1775, in which a Mrs. Shuckber wants to sell two houses and grounds on Broadway, near Trinity Church. She says "the main lot extends two hundred feet into the river. There is a full view from the lot (that can never be obstructed) of the bay down to the Narrows and of the passage across the river to and from Powles Hook." If the lady could revisit the scene, her comments would be decidedly interesting.

The glitter and parade of fashionable life faded out for a time with the Revolution. Before the actual fighting began, we find associations formed for a simpler and more economical mode of life; and what still remained of extravagance and wild gaiety finally took its departure with the Loyalists. The Continental Congress had made a voluntary self-denial of all the vanities of sport at the beginning of the struggle.

On looking back over the social history of the town, we see that the general character of its inhabitants has changed very little, and that the New York of to-day is very similar in spirit to that of the period here reviewed.

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